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Mandate Session Discusses Gorbachev Initiative

LD1212094188 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Vienna December 12 TASS—A regular meeting was held here within the framework of consultations between representatives of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) on the elaboration of a mandate for future talks on the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The participants in the consultations were informed of the Soviet Union's major steps in the sphere of disarmament which had been announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. General Assembly session and which create favourable conditions for substantial strengthening of European security.

The Soviet delegation called for expediting the elaboration of the mandate so that the talks on conventional arms in Europe could be started soon.

Reaction Continues to Soviet Initiative

Bogachev on Pentagon 'Apprehensions'

LD1212193188 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

In private, Pentagon officials express apprehensions that the Soviet decisions to unilaterally cut its armed forces by half a million troops "will lessen the perception of Soviet threat" and make it more difficult for NATO to go ahead with its plans to modernise nuclear arms in Europe. In their public utterances, however, they describe this Soviet decision as a "small step."

News analysts note that the Soviet initiatives undercut one of the Pentagon's chief arguments in favour of modernising NATO's nuclear missiles, namely "the need to offset the massive Soviet superiority in conventional arms and armed forces on the European Continent." In an interview with American television, Congressman Les Aspin said that Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations General Assembly session might prompt Congress to cut down on military spending to reduce the U.S. budget deficit. Les Aspin said that it was planned to appropriate certain sums in the present budget for modernising the "Lance" missile but that Gorbachev's speech would affect implementation of the plan.

THE NEW YORK TIMES called on the Atlantic alliance to respond to Soviet initiatives with its own unilateral initiatives. According to the newspaper, the first answer should be to reduce the obsolete field weapons in Europe, which are of dubious value.

The "Soviet diplomatic offensive," as the West has dubbed the Soviet initiatives to reduce the level of military confrontation, has caught the Pentagon unawares this time round as well. The Pentagon officials have also proposed previously that any and all present and future initiatives of the Soviet Union be declared "tempting but dangerous alternatives." Now they announce dramatically that they will demand at negotiations further unilateral reductions in the military might of the Soviet Union.

It has become a bad tradition with the NATO leaders to respond to any headway in international relations with measures designed to "neutralise" their positive impact. The U.S. General John Galvin, NATO's supreme allied commander in Europe, still believes that the price of an arms control agreement must be modernising the nuclear and conventional forces of the North Atlantic alliance. John Galvin responded to the Soviet decision to cut its armed forces by a new appeal to sophisticate NATO's "Lance" missiles.

NATO military leaders are still bent on "compensating" the U.S. missiles to be liquidated under the INF Treaty, with new and no less dangerous means of mass annihilation. The Atlantic alliance leaders see it as their task to replace the gun pressed to the temple of Europe by a knife pressed to its heart.

Howe on Speech, NATO Response

LD1112232488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] London, 11 Dec (TASS)—Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for foreign affairs, hailed as "positive" the USSR's initiatives in the area of arms reduction put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his UN speech. Speaking in a BBC program he stressed, in particular, that these proposals mark a new shift of Soviet military policy toward "defensive principles".

The head of the British foreign department did not exclude the theoretical possibility of NATO taking a similar unilateral step, yet at the same time he said the need for such reductions on the Soviet side is greater now. At the same time, G. Howe reiterated London's well-known view on the need "to modernize" NATO nuclear means, something which, according to him, will maintain "the effectiveness of Western defense" at a proper level.

Solton on NATO Response

LD1212142388 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Next, Yuriy Solton considers NATO reaction to the Soviet decision to reduce unilaterally its armed forces by half a million and to make major cuts in conventional arms in 2 years.

In general, there has been a favorable reaction. The NATO leaders welcomed, although with reserve, the Soviet decision to withdraw 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Besides, the USSR will reduce troops and arms in its European part. NATO has said that this is a step in the right direction, but has at once made a number of reservations. It claims that the Soviet troop reduction is insufficient and that after that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization will continue to have a major military supremacy in Europe. President Reagan in his Saturday radio address to the nation repeated such claims. What is the reason for this?

I believe, writes Yuriy Solton, that NATO is in disarray. It is either unprepared or reluctant to reciprocate. The Soviet initiative has dealt a heavy blow on NATO's propaganda efforts to justify arms modernization and build-up plans, discussed at the recent session of the NATO Council in Brussels. People have been asking: Why have NATO's military policies remained unchanged at the time when the Soviet Union has taken unilateral disarmament moves? All NATO's attempts to justify this attitude look rather odd. True, there is certain asymmetry in the structure of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, this is only natural, but there has been parity in Europe for quite a long time. If there are still any doubts to this effect they can be shattered easily.

The USSR has suggested exchanging information concerning the armed forces and armaments of the two military and political alliances officially in order to determine asymmetries and eliminating them, but NATO has shirked giving an answer because allegations that the Soviet Union has a military supremacy are groundless. The reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces by half a million is evidence of the USSR's firm intention to bring about a shift from unbridled arms build-ups to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

Perez de Cuellar Praises Gorbachev UN Speech

LD0912205788 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Oslo December 9 TASS—Despite serious economic difficulties, the United Nations Organisation assumes an ever greater prestige in the world community. The organisation's importance will be enhanced still more with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces. United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said this at a news conference here on Friday evening. He will take part in the ceremony of the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1988.

Answering questions from reporters, Javier Perez de Cuellar spoke highly of the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its armed forces, of Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, describing it as very important. The U.N. secretary-general said he was greatly impressed by the fact that the Soviet leader chose the United Nations rostrum for advancing this important initiative. This confirms again that the United Nations is the ideal forum for the discussion of international problems, Javier Perez de Cuellar said. In this connection he dwelt on questions of settlement in various troubled areas of the globe, paying special attention to South Africa, the Middle East and Afghanistan.

Earthquake Underlines Gorbachev UN Initiative

LD1112232388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; commentary by Soviet television and radio political observer Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] Hello, comrades. No matter what one is concerned with today, one's mind turns to the tragedy in Armenia. The disaster that occurred in the land of Armenia has caused anguish for many peoples, not only in our country, but beyond its borders. It was the same after the earthquakes in Mexico and Skopje, and after the accident in Chernobyl: At a moment of grief and common danger, people perceive themselves as part of a single, if multifaceted, world. Yes, for the time being this happens only at bitter moments. But this means that people have such a need. And now the words spoken by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev before the UN General Assembly on the need for international cooperation to become cocreation and codevelopment do not seem like such a distant prospect after all.

The speech by our leader has justly been called a landmark in contemporary history. The head of the Soviet state set forth a new vision of the world, a new philosophy which opens up for mankind a path towards progress in the third millennium. Common human interests should lie at the foundation of the movement forward. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called for restructuring in the area of international relations. Of particular significance is the fact that our leader not only put forward a philosophical interpretation of the tasks facing mankind, but also concrete steps towards their implementation.

None of the problems of the forthcoming century can be solved without disarmament. We see the society of the future as a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. If initially some people saw this as a utopia or as a propaganda maneuver, now even the skeptics are forced to admit that the movement towards the realization of this great and noble idea has begun.

The Soviet leadership decided to demonstrate once again its willingness to reinforce this healthy process not merely by words, but by deeds. We will reduce our armed forces by half a million men. We will do this unilaterally without setting any prior conditions at all. But at the same time, of course, we expect this good example not to remain without a response, and we expect the United States, and the NATO alliance as a whole, to make steps towards us. It is as though we have paid an advance, voluntary contribution into the money-box of disarmament, and we are counting on the objectivity of our partners.

The reduction of Soviet troops and arms in central Europe and the fact that the structure of the forces which remain there is to be made defensive eliminates the grounds for NATO arsenals to keep tactical nuclear weapons and, what is more, for their modernization. We hope that this new initiative by our country will help reduce military confrontation and increase security. This is one of the main conditions for the restructuring of international relations and for a move away from confrontation towards cocreation and codevelopment, which the world so badly needs on the threshold of the third millennium.

PRAVDA Reviews UN Speech, Meetings

PM1112143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Vladimir Chernyshev international review: "The World This Week"]

[Text] On that day—11 December 1918—it was almost as cold in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions as outside in Moscow's streets. The delegates to the First All-Russian Congress of Land Departments, Poverty Committees, and Communes were sitting in sheepskin coats and greatcoats: Firewood was needed to heat schools and hospitals. The lamps gave a dim light—there was insufficient electricity even for plants and factories.

But Lenin, the great thinker and great realist, was speaking from the rostrum to the peasants who had made their way with difficulty to the capital in dilapidated trains with freezing cars and gasping steam engines which had been patched up 100 times, telling them about the coming new life and the plan for building a socialist state. He spoke of the need to make every effort in order to rid themselves of the legacy of world carnage, when "the cultural, scientific, and technical gains acquired by mankind over many centuries were swept aside in the space of 4 years by that criminal, ruinous, and predatory war," when "all of Europe, not just Russia, returned to a state of barbarity...."

On a day such as today, 70 years ago, the leader of the young Land of the Soviets, which had proclaimed unbending allegiance to peace as one of its fundamental state principles, said: "...People have seen for themselves from the monstrous horrors of modern war what forces modern technology has created and how these forces are squandered in a most terrible, senseless war...."

When we watch old newsreels now, the clumsy tanks and plywood aircraft of World War I look like toys compared with the powerful military hardware of our days. It is pointless and immoral to compare the "monstrous horrors" of the war at the beginning of the century and the war whose danger has still not been finally eliminated: Death always has a terrible countenance, and a mother's grief is equally inconsolable, whether her son was killed by an arrow from a bow or by the latest model of a submachinegun. But the consequences of armed clashes are comparable. In the space of 7 decades mankind's reason has created things of the most amazing complexity and sophistication which are meant to make our life comfortable and joyful but which could destroy it in a matter of minutes. People have discovered the laws of the atomic nucleus, but only now are they beginning to comprehend the law of the impossibility of nuclear war, which would be ruinous for everything that lives on the planet—a law which must become as unquestionable for us as mathematical axioms.

Then, in the difficult and hungry year of 1918, Lenin said that "after the desperate, long war throughout the world," when revolutionary forces were rising up everywhere, a situation had been created "which says, regardless of any theoretical views or socialist teachings and in a most impressive language to absolutely everyone that we cannot live in the old way." Still less can people nowadays live and think in the old way in a world which has accumulated mountains of weapons with monstrous destructive force.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, declared this clearly and definitely from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly session, emphasizing that at a time the process of forming an interconnected and integral world is taking place and gathering momentum, "further world progress is possible now only through the search for a general human consensus in the movement toward a new world order."

Unique Instrument

On the eve of the General Assembly session, both politicians and numerous journalists who had gone to New York to attend the session, which many of them had earlier categorized as an historic event, had made many guesses and suppositions regarding the contents of the Soviet leader's speech and possible new initiatives by Moscow. The dynamism of the Soviet leadership's policy in recent years has already "accustomed" people throughout the world to the fact that the Soviet Union comes to important meetings, whether bilateral or multilateral, with a serious in-depth analysis of current processes and with specific proposals noted for their novelty and nonstandard approach.

The expectations of those who had been hoping that a global and, at the same time, specific program would be advanced by the Soviet leader really were realized. I cannot recall a speech by any statesman winning such high and practically unanimous appraisal from influential foreign leaders and mass media representing a very broad political and ideological spectrum. They note the exceptional importance and scale of the new Soviet initiatives, which confirm the Soviet Union's unbending will for peace.

The first speech by the head of the Land of the Soviets from the UN rostrum in the entire history of the United Nations' existence is regarded by the international public not only as attesting to the Soviet Union's desire to make a weighty contribution to better mutual understanding among the peoples and to a healthier political climate on the planet, but also as confirming the USSR's intention to help to strengthen the role of the United Nations and, through this universal organization, to create a demilitarized, democratically organized international community.

There have been both thaws and periods of cooling in UN history. The concrete and glass of the building on the East River do not protect its inhabitants from the outside world. What has happened within UN walls has and does reflect the general situation in the world: If the international situation has been exacerbated, confrontation has also intensified in the assembly hall; if positive moves have become apparent in the international arena, the debates have begun to assume a more constructive nature. The United Nations has also had its periods of "stagnation"—more calm but not more productive, when sessions have turned into endless and hardly exciting but yawn-inducing debates, when it was clear to everyone beforehand how the rubber-stamp "voting machine" would work and how it was an open secret that no substantial changes in the world would follow all the talking. It was no coincidence that some people called the United Nations a "big talking shop" and even proposed disbanding the organization. But what would take its place?

There is no adequate alternative to countries' cooperation at the United Nations, for no bilateral or multilateral contacts and ties can replace the universal forum whose foundations were laid back in the years of the bloodiest of all the wars that have taken place on the planet and whose birth was inspired by a dream of eternal peace. It was not the UN mechanism that was skidding—it was hindered by the ideologized ditches of mistrust and the impassable bog of the world's division into warring groupings.

As soon as new trends began to be felt in the international arena and respectful dialogue began to acquire rights of world citizenship, although still not everywhere, and as soon as sober-minded and responsible politicians arrived at the conclusion that the realities of the modern world dictate the need to be guided not by narrow egotistic considerations but by the loftiest, truly all-human interests, then the prestige and role of the United Nations as an important instrument of international cooperation and stronger security began immediately to grow noticeably. Resurrected, the United Nations is increasingly becoming a mirror on the changing world and, unlike the crooked, distorted reflections in the past, is increasingly clearly showing us all what we are really like.

M.S. Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," published in September of last year, and the Soviet leader's General Assembly speech contain a broad program for strengthening the United Nations and enhancing its role in shaping an all-embracing system of international security and consciously regulating international relations in a nuclear-free world. The Soviet Union advocates the elaboration of measures which will enable the United Nations, as the chief universal organ, to ensure the maintenance of security at a high level of reliability in all spheres. The USSR, which is ready to enrich the United Nations' creative potential in every way, believes that there is an urgent need for states to reinterpret their attitude to this universal instrument, without which it is no longer possible to imagine world politics and which has recently demonstrated its ability to help its members to cope with the time's terrible challenges and to travel the path of humanizing relations.

Great Art

During the first Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985, M.S. Gorbachev said at a press conference that the time had come when, under the threat of the universal nuclear danger, it was necessary to learn the great art of living together.

During these 3 years both sides have received good schooling in mastering this difficult art, when the lessons have sometimes proved difficult and the "homework" has demanded unusual solutions. Now, looking back over the path traveled, it is possible to say with confidence that, thanks to changes for the better in the essence and atmosphere of relations between Moscow and Washington, people throughout the world have been able to breathe a sigh of relief. No one claims that everything is going easily or that all the obstacles remaining from those times when relations between our countries were built under the sign of confrontation and sometimes even hostility have been cleared from this path. On the list of problems which the USSR and the United States are called upon to resolve together there are still not so many ticks denoting fulfillment—there are far more boxes not filled in. However, there are already many important steps to the two countries' credit.

You have only to look at the list of joint Soviet-U.S. meetings in just over 1 month to see for yourself the intensity of contacts between the two countries' representatives. During this time a youth forum has been held in Philadelphia and a trans-Pacific conference in Portland. A seminar on trade and economic ties has been held in New York—"How To Do Business in the USSR." A group of Soviet children has been to the United States, and the first joint symposium on international law of the sea, the symposium "Economic Growth in Modern Industrial Societies: the USSR and the United States," and the first interparliamentary seminar on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights have been held in Moscow. This is a far from full list. When, during which times, has such lively movement from opposite sides been observed on the bridge of cooperation between our countries—ranging from influential parliamentarians to kids from children's homes! Is this not a manifestation of the crucial nature of the present stage in history! Could we really have assumed 8 years ago, on familiarizing ourselves with R. Reagan's harsh statements during his first presidential campaign, that he would declare a few days ago: "I must admit that I did not think on taking up the presidency that I would ever recall with nostalgia my meetings with Soviet leaders." Honestly speaking, Mr President, we did not think so either at that time.

The Soviet Union intends to continue adhering to the policy of developing and further strengthening relations between our countries—a policy which is fully justifying itself. M.S. Gorbachev declared from the UN rostrum that the next U.S. Administration headed by G. Bush will find in the Soviet Union a partner prepared to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness, and goodwill, with a desire for specific results on an agenda which embraces the central questions of Soviet-U.S. relations and international politics.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the topic of continuity both in implementing the accords reached and seeking new ones and in the nature of contacts at all levels dominated M.S. Gorbachev's talks with R. Reagan and G. Bush on Governors Island. Despite the fact that the meeting was unofficial and no negotiations were held in the traditional sense, the sides touched to one degree or another on all the main questions on the agenda of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

The meeting confirmed the high level of bilateral relations. Thus, lying on a table in the presidential office at the White House, which is currently occupied by R. Reagan and into which G. Bush will soon move, there is a list of the problems discussed on the island as well as the broad program expounded by the Soviet leader at the United Nations. As the Soviet side has already officially declared, it is ready to continue the dialogue without long pauses or backward moves. We would like to count on reciprocity.

Much depends on the efforts of the two great powers—the Soviet Union and the United States. Their international importance is so palpable that any fluctuations one way or the other in their approaches to resolving contemporary problems immediately affect the international situation. Mankind is tired of living in fear of nuclear catastrophe and is capable of curbing the monstrous power of the atom.

What mankind is still powerless to do is counter the formidable, destructive forces of nature. A terrible earthquake has hit Armenia. In this situation M.S. Gorbachev was forced to cut short the program of his stay in New York and postpone until another time his trips to Cuba and Britain. The leaders of these countries were understanding about the decision of the Soviet head of state to be with his people during these difficult days, when people are in trouble.

Heads of state and government and leaders of political parties and public organizations in many countries have sent telegrams of condolence in connection with the tragedy which has befallen Soviet people and have expressed readiness to assist the victims. Grief unites peoples. May this sense of unity, this awareness that we all live on one planet and that we are all children of one civilization—perhaps the only one in the universe—always move people in their contacts with each other, in their dreams of the future, and in their organization of our life today.

United States & Canada

U.S. Navy Missile Hits Civilian Ship

LD1312073588 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 13 TASS—A serious accident took place during U.S. war games in the Pacific. The AP news agency reports, that a harpoon missile fired by a U.S. fighter at a training target hit a civilian trader sailing north-west of Kauai Island.

The U.S. Naval Command reports that the missile was with a dummy warhead [sentence as received]. The missile substantially deviated from the target due to unknown reasons and hit a civilian vessel which had not been expected in the area of the exercises, noted a representative of the U.S. Navy.

According to AP, the harpoon missile destroyed the ship's superstructure, as a result of which one crewman was killed.

Congressional Reaction to UN Speech Cited

LD1012134988 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

The initiative of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev is an important contribution to achieving stability in Europe in the field of conventional weapons. The West should welcome this initiative. Moreover, the West should continue dialogue on military doctrine with the Warsaw Treaty to ensure such structures of the forces of the two countries which would pose no danger, said Democrat Senator Timothy Wirth. Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz hailed Gorbachev's proposal to reduce the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 people and to cut conventional arms.

Not everyone at Capital Hill welcomed the new Soviet initiatives. But the voices of hard-liners like Senator Steve Symms, who demanded that the Soviet propaganda machine should not be allowed to instill the false feeling of security, introduced a jarring note at the U.S. Congress this week. In reply to the hard-liners, House Speaker James Wright pointed out that the United States should be on guard but not slam the door on new openings. Words matched by deeds, Wright commented on Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations.

On the question of restructuring the Soviet Armed Forces the West had only one key question—where is the proof? The Soviet president spoke about changing the Armed Forces structure in line with the principle of sensible sufficiency of the defensive, rather than offensive, potential. The West was fully justified to demand proofs. Gorbachev delivered them, stressed Les Aspin, chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services.

Gorbachev's initiative renders impossible the efforts of those who press for increasing military allocations. Even attempts to keep these allocations at the current level are being seriously hampered, commented Democrat Senator James Sasser, who heads the Senate Budget Committee in the new Congress.

Consultative Commission Session Ends

LD1212224688 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Geneva December 13 TASS—A regular session of the Soviet-American Permanent Consultative Commission ended in Geneva on Monday.

The commission was set up under the memorandum of agreement between the Governments of the USSR and the USA of December 21, 1972, to assist in the implementation of the goals and provisions of agreements on strategic arms limitations and on measures to reduce the threat of an outbreak of nuclear war, concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States.

RSFSR's Vlasov Receives Quebec Minister

LD1212151288 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—Aleksandr Vlasov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, received today P. Gobey, minister for external relations of Quebec Province (Canada), who arrived in the Soviet Union on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

During their conversation which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, they touched on issues of Soviet-Canadian relations. They noted with satisfaction that the extention of diversified ties between the Russian Federation and Quebec Province is becoming a significant factor in interstate relations by complementing and furthering them. The two expressed their common opinion that the varied contacts between the Soviet Union and Canada at different levels contribute to a better mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries and to the development of mutually-advantageous cooperation.

On the same day P. Gobey had talks in the Foreign Ministry and in the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) of the Russian Federation.

The minister paid a visit to the Permanent Mission of the Armenian Council of Ministers in Moscow. On behalf of the premier of the government of Quebec Province Robert Bourassa and on his personal behalf, P. Gobey expressed his profound sympathy to the government and people of Armenia in connection with the natural disaster that has hit the Armenian Republic. P. Gobey said that the people of Quebec were sending in relief to the earthquake victims.

The guest laid a wreath at the Unknown Soldier Tomb by the Kremlin Wall.

China

Moscow Notes Improvement of PRC Relations

OW1312055688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Mulatov commentary from the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] The results of the Soviet visit by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen last week have aroused great interest among the international community. An article by the editorial department of the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI SHIMBUN says: First of all, of course, this is because the relationship between the two socialist giants is one of the important factors influencing the whole atmosphere in the international community. All foreign observers admit that noticeable progress has been made in the process of normalizing Sino-Soviet relations. It must be pointed out with particular emphasis that both sides agree that a Sino-Soviet summit is likely to be held during the first half of 1989.

In this respect, station observer Mulatov writes as follows:

One of the best symbols for the year which will be over soon is, of course, the smooth development of political dialogue between the Soviet Union and China. Gradually, it has become one of the most important factors conducive to bringing about a healthy situation in the entire Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to an indication expressed by China not long ago that China is prepared to make joint efforts with other countries to turn the Pacific into a region of peace, friendship, and cooperation. We all are aware that the interests of many countries in the region are closely intermingled. The Soviet Union, for its part, also takes the matters of strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region and promoting good-neighborly cooperation seriously. To this end, the Soviet Union has made important proposals. They are in the interests of all the countries in the region. The measures drawn up by the Soviet Union recently on reducing the level of military confrontation are in the interests of all the countries in the Asia-Pacific region. In this connection, the establishment of a mechanism for negotiation in the Asia-Pacific region and a meeting of foreign ministers of countries in the region are being planned.

In reply to questions raised by TASS reporters, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze pointed out: Our two countries share particularly great possibilities in the Asia-Pacific region. They should be turned to better account with maximum efficiency.

Dear listeners: We all know that the starting point of both the Soviet Union and China in regard to world affairs is that the tendency toward dialogue is greater than that toward confrontation, and that the policy of resolving disputes through strength has been superseded by political and legal system measures that bring about settlement. Good news is the political settlement of the Cambodian issue. There is no doubt that the continued development of political dialogue between the Soviet Union and China will definitely be conducive to bringing about a healthy situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

In its commentary, the XINHUA news agency pointed out: The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is not only in the fundamental interests of the two countries, but also conducive to stability in the Asia-Pacific region, to world peace, and to the undertakings of development.

Scientific Ties With PRC 'Deepening'

OW1312052888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2330 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; V. Kulikov video report]

[Text] Our correspondent reports on the deepening of ties between the scientific circles of the Soviet Union and the PRC:

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] Friendly ties between the Soviet Union and China are developing successfully. [video shows a number of Soviet and Chinese scientists attending a soiree] Points of contact between our peoples are increasing. This fully applies to the realm of science as well. Representatives of Chinese scientific circles—well-known specialists in the sphere of agriculture, science administrators, and young scientists—came to the Soviet Embassy in Beijing to take part in the solemn ceremony of presentation of a certificate of election to the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of a foreign academic, Professor Wang Lianzheng, president of China's Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Wang Lianzheng's work is not limited to the laboratory alone. He is a practician and is also active in state affairs. Recently he was vice governor of the Heilongjiang provincial people's government and headed the provincial academy of agriculture sciences. His major work regarding the technique of growing soybean—a crop that is of considerable importance to the country's agriculture—is well known in China.

In accepting the honor, he spoke of the importance of ties between the scientists of our country, and about the Soviet and Chinese scientific input into the cause of the development of agricultural production in our respective countries.

Chinese Academician Wang Lianzheng is a graduate of a Soviet Institute of Agriculture. When interviewed by Soviet television he chose to speak in Russian.

[Wang Lianzheng, in Russian] I think that this cooperation is beneficial to both countries. [end recording]

Ties With PRC in Educational Sphere Viewed

OW1312053388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] A delegation of the No 1 Middle School in Harbin City in northeast China arrived in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, on 6 December. The delegation will discuss cooperation with the No 6 Technical School in Kiev, where some of the courses offered are conducted in Chinese. Sino-Soviet cooperation in education, which started in institutions of higher learning, is being expanded into the domains of secondary schools and vocational and technical schools.

The following is our reporter's commentary on this issue:

The USSR and China resumed educational cooperation in 1983, when each country sent 10 students to study in the other country. All of these students were Chinese and Russian language majors. The schools they studied at were the Beijing Institute of Languages and the Pushkin Russian Language Institute in Moscow. After that, the number of students sent by both sides has increased every year. This shows that both countries have a need to send more students. This reporter has learned from the State Commission for Public Education that Soviet higher learning institutions will accept 600 Chinese students and experts next year. In return, the USSR will send 300 students to do field work or study in China. We can say with certainty that the cooperation in this field by the two countries has made great and stable progress.

Needless to say, the growing cooperation in education between the USSR and China is a very positive factor and plays a significant role in the development of overall relations between the two countries. In addition, it contributes to the traditional friendship and mutual understanding between Soviet and Chinese people. As the two countries are carrying out reforms in every field, cultivating personnel with knowledge and ability is particularly important. The increasing contacts between the two countries in education is aimed at solving problems in this area.

There are many things that the two countries can learn from each other, particularly in the fields of science and technology. This also includes education and the structural reform of education. The USSR and China attach great importance to cooperation in public education. In 1986, the two countries set up a working group for the development of education within the framework of Soviet-Chinese economic, trade, and scientific and technical cooperation. This fact itself is proof. The group has done a great job in coordinating the work of the educational ministries and commissions of the two countries and in planning their future cooperation.

The cooperation in education between the two countries has taken many forms. Thanks to simplified visa procedures, the number of exchange teachers and lecturers grows continuously. Since last year, some Soviet institutions of higher learning have set up direct contacts with their Chinese counterparts. At present, direct contacts between Moscow University and Beijing University, the Polytechnic Institution in Leningrad and Qinghua University in Beijing have already been established. Each country has eight educational centers that have direct contacts with their counterparts. The number will increase in the near future. Practice shows that there is a great future for this kind of cooperation. There are great prospects and potential for Soviet-Chinese educational cooperation. The great interest shown by the two sides in each other's educational reforms opens up broad prospects in exchanging experience and cooperation in cadre training. Educational research institutions in both countries have established business contacts. Exchanges of visits by delegations of experts has also increased. A Soviet-Chinese seminar on reforming higher education of the two countries is expected to be held next year. The realization of complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will be, without doubt, favorable to developing this mutually beneficial process. The result of the recent visit to the USSR by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen shows that it is entirely possible that this goal will be achieved in the near future. Therefore, the people of the two countries are looking forward to a return visit to China by the Soviet foreign minister and to next year's Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Uno Praises Gorbachev UN Speech

LD1212152188 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 12 TASS—Sosuke Uno, foreign minister of Japan, has stated in parliament that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, was pressing ahead with his dynamic policy by promoting perestroyka and openness, by opening up new areas of which previous Soviet leaders dared not dream. I believe, the minister said, that it takes courage to pursue such a domestic policy.

Assessing the Soviet Union's decision to cut its Armed Forces unilaterally by 500,000 men, which, in Sosuke Uno's opinion, was the acme of the Soviet leader's United Nations speech, the minister said that it was necessary to "monitor carefully the implementation of this decision and to grasp its meaning. We believe that this step should be welcomed", he said.

The head of the Japanese diplomatic service said that the Soviet leadership's desire to continue the dialogue with the United States, "so important for ensuring stability all over the world", was most praiseworthy.

The Japanese minister noted that he welcomed the call, contained in the Soviet leader's speech, to launch a political dialogue with different countries, including Japan. In this connection he referred to Eduard Shevardnadze's forthcoming visit to Japan.

Mongolian Official on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

PM1212132188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Mongolian Deputy Foreign Minister D. Yondon by correspondent V. Sapov in Ulaanbaatar under the rubric "Our Interviews" under the general heading: "The World Discusses the Soviet Initiatives"; date not given]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—[Yondon] Mongolia has a high opinion of the constructive new proposals put forward by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in the disarmament sphere. Under an accord between our governments, a considerable proportion of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on Mongolian territory at our government's request are to be withdrawn.

As is well known, the withdrawal of Soviet troop units from Mongolia began last April-June. This became possible as a result of positive changes in Asia and in the international arena as a whole. This decision was dictated by a sincere desire to promote the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust among Asian states, above all with the PRC. It is also promoting the development of the process of military detente in the region.

As for Mongolian-Chinese relations, owing to efforts from both sides, considerable progress has been made toward the complete normalization of relations between our countries. Ties are developing at the parliamentary level and between some public organizations and creative unions. Steps are being taken to renew athletic ties. Contacts between the Mongolian and Chinese foreign policy departments have become regular.

We welcome the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet Union and the PRC are our only two neighbors. Being major powers and permanent members of the UN Security Council, they bear great responsibility for consolidating peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

Lukyanov Receives Mongolian Delegation

LD1212131288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] A meeting took place today between Comrade Lukyanov and a delegation of the Mongolian Great People's Hural headed by Namsray, member of the Politburo, secretary of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural. In the course of the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding, there was a detailed exchange of opinions about the state and prospects of the bilateral relations and on topical matters of the development of the sociopolitical structures of the two countries in conditions of all-around socialist renewal.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Meets Afghanistan's Wakil

LD1212190688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 Dec (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, had a meeting with 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, who made a short stopover in Moscow on his way from Kabul to Geneva to take part in the discussion of the Palestine question at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly.

Chief attention at the meeting was given to the discussion of specific questions connected with implementation of the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations for the purpose of urgently reaching an all-embracing Afghan settlement. In this context, 'Abdul Wakil stressed the Afghan Government's readiness, starting on 1 January 1989, to embark on a complete and all-encompassing cease-fire in the country, and his resolute support for Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal linked with this idea concerning the supply of arms to all the warring parties. It was also noted that preparations for and the holding of an international conference on Afghanistan's neutrality and demilitarization could be a powerful factor in favor of achieving national consensus and guaranteeing the country's future peaceful development.

The ministers especially dwelled on the need for UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to join in the most active way in the process of an Afghan settlement, with the understanding that Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals and President Najibullah's initiatives open up broad new opportunities for his activity in this direction.

The ministers once more stated that the Soviet and Afghan sides were open to talks with all groups of the Afghan opposition, including both the Alliance of Seven, based in Pakistan, the Alliance of Eight, with its headquarters in Iran, and with all other strata of the Afghan emigres.

The opinion was expressed that the new Pakistani leadership could play an important role in an Afghan settlement and effectively promote a transition from confrontation in Afghanistan to a search for specific ways of establishing a constructive and productive intra-Afghan dialogue.

Eduard Shevardnadze and 'Abdul Wakil were unanimous that all genuine Afghan patriots at the present decisive stage that the development of the Afghan situation is entering, should join in the all-Afghan talks process and make their own important contribution to the implementation of the Geneva accords and the provisions of the resolution of the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly on Afghanistan.

Certain other questions of bilateral cooperation and a number of international problems were discussed.

The talk was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Vorontsov Holds Talks With Najibullah

LD1212141688 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 12 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR and Soviet ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, has had a meeting with President Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). He informed the Afghan leader of the talks he had with the Peshawar-based Afghan opposition ("the Alliance of Seven") at Al-Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, early in December.

The Afghan president, in turn, informed a meeting of the Political Bureau of the PDPA Central Committee about the Al-Ta'if negotiations. The Politburo, according to BAKHTAR, qualified the meeting in Saudi Arabia as a result of the joint policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan to stop the bloodshed and restore peace in the country. It noted that Yuliy Vorontsov's talks with representatives of the "Alliance of Seven" were fully in keeping with the principles of the policy of national reconciliation and were an important landmark on the road from military confrontation to a political settlement. The Politburo believes the Al-Ta'if meeting reflects the spirit of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly resolution on Afghanistan and is positively assessed by the world community, interested as it is in achieving a peaceful settlement in the country.

The Politburo expressed full support to the ideas contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the session of the United Nations General Assembly. It pointed out also that the new proposals, aimed at attaining a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, were a constructive step forward and their realisation could promote peace and security in Afghanistan.

Growing Afghan Support for Gorbachev UN Plan

LD1212121788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Report from Kabul by correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] In the last few days the military and political situation in Afghanistan has changed quite considerably. There is less shelling of the capital and other provincial centers by missiles. In my opinion, the reasons for this change are the meeting held in Saudi Arabia between Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, and representatives of the Afghan opposition, and, the main thing, the proposals on Afghanistan put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly.

It can (?doubtless) be said that these proposals did not leave a single Afghan indifferent, including representatives of the opposition. At the same time, against the background of this little lull, some nervousness can be felt in the headquarters of the opposition parties situated in Iran and Pakistan. A number of the most extremist-minded leaders are worried that as a result of the cease-fire, their ranks are gradually beginning to melt away. Furthermore, they will lose no small amount of aid which is still being given by Pakistan to continue the war. Thus recently, between (?23) and 50 million rupees was allocated by the Pakistani Government to bribe officials, [word indistinct] the Republic of Afghanistan, and to finance the direct action of the rebels in the Afghan border province of Nangarhar. About 1,500 Pakistani youths are taking part in military actions against the Afghan Armed Forces in this province.

Yet at present, support is spreading more and more widely among all strata of the Afghan population for the implementation of the Soviet proposals to resolve the Afghan problem and for the idea of holding an international conference on Afghanistan.

Bovin Discusses Afghanistan Situation

LD1112193988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Dec 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, hosted by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] Hello, comrades. The tragic events in Armenia have rather overshadowed international affairs. They are not what the heart hopes for today, and they are not what one wishes to speak about. But life goes on, while grief and routine generally go together.

And so to the latest edition of "International Panorama" program. The focus of this political week has been New York, or to be more precise, Gorbachev in New York. Presumably all of you are acquainted with Comrade

Gorbachev's speech and with the numerous commentaries on it. I shall not reiterate them, but shall merely draw your attention to the fact that the speaker raised two layers, so to speak—two large groups of issues. The first was a general vision, a philosophical and sociological interpretation of our times, and of the nature of the historic epoch in which we are all immersed. The second layer of issues was the principled political conclusions and proposals that stem from an analysis of the epoch and that reveal the way that leads to mankind's survival.

The starting point for this analysis is that the world which surrounds us has, by comparison even with the middle of the 20th century, become quite different. The very nature and criteria of social progress have changed and continue to change. Given these conditions, the customary theoretical formulas and slogans are useless. They do not work and cannot point out the correct path to the future. What is needed is a new theory and a fresh understanding of problems old and new, and it happens that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech clearly demonstrates the movement and the creative development of thought, the search for nonstandardized approaches to political, economic, and social realities.

You probably noticed that, of all regional problems, Comrade Gorbachev dwelled specially and specifically on only Afghanistan. He proposed that there should be a cease-fire as of 1 January, and that there should be a halt to weapons being supplied to all sides in the conflict. At the same time, it is proposed that the United Nations, including its armed forces, should be involved at the concluding stage of this conflict. And if Comrade Gorbachev's plan is taken up by all interested parties, I believe we can fully bargain on the passions now raging in Afghanistan being calmed. If—that is the operative word.

I spent 2 weeks in Afghanistan in November. I flew to Herat, Mazar-e Sharif, and I was in Hayraton. I spoke to the Republic's president and its prime minister, many ministers, generals, governors, and our comrades. My overall impression was that the situation in Afghanistan is very difficult and critical. The withdrawal of Soviet troops has not been accompanied by an increase in stability. Rather the reverse: The armed opposition has stepped up its activity. The implacables reject the very possibility of a compromise on a coalition, which leaves precious little leeway for the policy of national reconciliation.

As you know, at the start of December Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs and our ambassador to Kabul, met with Professor Rabbani, leader of the Peshawar Seven, in Saudi Arabia. It was agreed there that the talks are to be continued. Apparently there are to be talks with the Pakistani leaders, too. But it is hard to pin one's hopes on Benazir Bhutto effecting any noticeable change in Islamabad's attitude to the Afghan issue. She simply does not yet have enough freedom of action. Nevertheless, one may hope—and one wants to hope—that Pakistan's policy and her attitude toward the Geneva accords will be more considered. The agreements with the field commanders active on Afghan territory could have great significance. Talks are being held with them—both by us and by our Afghan friends.

Generally, then, everything possible is being done to facilitate the creation of a coalition government, to facilitate and ensure the relatively smooth and relatively painless evolution and transformation of the present regime. But the process has been terribly neglected, and political therapy is not omnipotent. One way or another, the denouement is approaching.

Iranian Economic Cooperation Meeting Ends

LD1212150788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0715 GMT 12 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The 11th session of the USSR-Iran Standing Commission for Economic Cooperation has ended in Moscow. The Soviet delegation was headed by Comrade Konarev, USSR minister of railways. The Iranian delegation was led by Economy and Finance Minister Iravani.

The protocol of the 11th commission session, which was signed by the delegation heads, reflects the two sides' striving for a considerable expansion of cooperation in the spheres of ferrous metallurgy, thermal and hydropower engineering, industrial and capital construction, and the further development and improvement of transportation links between the two countries.

Iran's Role in Afghan Solution Viewed

NC1112120588 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Commentary by Aleksander Denisov]

[Text] This week, the alternate session of the Soviet-Iranian Standing Commission for Economic Cooperation ended successfully. The Iranian delegation, which was headed by Mr Mohammad Javad Iravani, Iran's minister of economy and finance, signed a series of agreements in the Soviet capital. During his visit, Iravani met with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other Soviet leaders. We invite you to listen to a commentary by our analyst Aleksandr Denisov on this:

The Iranian delegation's visit and the successful termination of the session of the joint commission for economic cooperation undoubtedly provided the opportunity for Soviet-Iranian relations to be elevated to a new and noteworthy stage. This reality was declared in Mr Mohammad Javad Iravani's statements in Moscow. He pointed out that the definite and positive changes in the Soviet Union within the framework of restructuring, as well as the termination of the Iran-Iraq war, create a good and favorable situation for the further and more rapid development of Soviet-Iranian relations.

Logically, one could say that it is very natural for our joint relations to greatly exceed, in their future development, the framework of mere economic relations. As pointed out by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in his discussions with Iran's minister of economy and finance, the situation is obviously now such that the Soviet Union and Iran should progress more actively in various fields of joint relations.

In relation to this, the dear listeners' attention should be drawn to the development of cooperation on the international scene; namely, in the solution of an extremely acute problem for the two countries—the Afghanistan problem. It is no longer a secret that in the past the Soviet Union and Iran often did not find common ground in their approaches to the Afghan issue. More important yet, the existing differences of opinion generally cast a shadow on Soviet-Iranian relations.

Iran criticized the presence of the Soviet limited military contingents in Afghanistan, even through these contingents had been sent there at the request of the legal Afghan Government. Also, Iran's mass media expressed solidarity in most cases with the fabrications and rumors concocted by the West alleging that the Soviet forces intend to gain access to warm waters. Soviet representatives repeatedly explained that their government had absolutely no such intentions and that the limited contingents were there only to thwart foreign intervention in Afghanistan's domestic affairs.

The sincerity and truth of these declarations is today confirmed in practice. I am speaking about the withdrawal of the limited contingents from Afghanistan. Meanwhile, I should say that, from my personal point of view, Iran's approach to the Afghanistan issue in past years was not faultless. Tehran did not limit itself only to oral criticism of the presence of the limited Soviet forces in Afghanistan and to criticism and slander of the Afghan leadership. We need only to recall the astronomical sums that were sent through the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and the Islamic Propaganda Center to Afghan antistate groupings, or the fact that nearly 20 military training centers for Afghan rebels were set up in provinces bordering Afghanistan—that is, in Khorasan and Sistan va Baluchestan Provinces.

However, I do not want to bring up the past and thus blur the atmosphere, especially as it is now 6 months since the Geneva accords were signed by representatives of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States. These accords paved the way for the solution of the Afghanistan problem. The Soviet Union's efforts toward the precise implementation of these accords found a positive reaction on the part of the Iranian leadership. Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Majles speaker, stated that there are no longer any obstacles to the improvement of Soviet-Iranian relations. [Words indistinct] that the Afghanistan problem will no longer have a negative impact on bilateral relations between our two countries.

However, I would like to warn that this negative impact continues be the issue of the day. This is because the incidents in Afghanistan are not moving in the direction that was expected when the Geneva accords were signed. Not only have military operations in that country not subsided, but they have, on the contrary, been intensified. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the Geneva accords did not provide for a cease-fire between the opposing parties in Afghanistan, and these parties have not been able to achieve a cease-fire and start peaceful talks for the solution of the conflict. The (?delivery) of arms from abroad to the rebels, which was not directly banned in the Geneva accords, has also had a great impact on the intensification of military operations.

As recent developments in Afghanistan show, if additional constructive efforts for the solution of the problem are not exerted, the military operations could spark off long-term and major clashes. Such a threat is a source of concern for the countries bordering Afghanistan: the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and Iran.

A way out of the situation that has been created should be sought. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a proposal in his speech to the UN General Assembly in New York on finding this way. He proposed that the UN General Assembly call on the warring Afghan parties to declare a cease-fire effective 1 January 1989 and to start talks on the formation of a broadly based government. Simultaneous with this, and beginning the same day, the delivery of arms to Afghanistan from abroad would be stopped. Moreover, the Soviet leader called on UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to create a suitable atmosphere for the implementation, as soon as possible, of the idea of holding an international conference to solve the Afghanistan issue under UN supervision, so that favorable foreign conditions might be created for the solution of the Afghan situation. This conference could provide for international guarantees of Afghanistan's neutrality and devise suitable steps for its [word indistinct].

As was pointed out by Nikolay Ryzhkov in his recent discussions with Mr Iravani, during this conference, in which all interested governments would participate, it might be possible to find (?genuine) paths leading to a solution in Afghanistan, and Iran naturally can play its part in the search for this path.

PLO's 'Arafat Interviewed on Peace Process

LD0912202288 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—An independent Palestinian state will be peaceful, said Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. In an exclusive interview with the magazine EKHO PLANETY of

December 10, he called attention to the fact that the political statement adopted by the latest session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) contains practical steps towards establishment an independent state: a plenipotentiary conference, complete withdrawal of Israeli troops, repeal of all annexation measures and acts, removal of all paramilitary settlements illegally set up by Israel on the occupied Arab territories, transfer of occupied territories under the U.N.'s temporary control.

The PLO leader positively assessed the position taken by Arabs with respect to the proclamation of a Palestinian state. Several hours after the proclamation, he noted, most Arab countries officially and legally recognized the Palestinian state.

'Arafat pointed out at the same time that the Israeli and U.S. response to the decision of the PNC Algerian session confirms the following: It is not the position of Palestinians and Arabs that has resulted in freezing the peace process in the Middle East. The reason lies in the stubbborness of Israel and the United States in pursuing the policy hostile to the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

The chairman of the PLO Executive Committee expressed the opinion that the decisions of the PNC session undoubtedly increase chances for calling a plenipotentiary international conference on the Middle East, since they had strengthened the conviction of the international community in the serious nature of Palestinians' peaceful orientation. 'Arafat said that under the conditions of international accord the latest decisions gave our friends, above all the Soviet Union, broader opportunities for activities aimed at calling an international conference. The session also prodded some influential forces, for instance Western Europe, to a more positive attitude to the cause of Palestinian people, since the session's decisions showed that Israel and the USA bear responsibility for thwarting peaceful efforts, noted the Palestinian leader.

Bessmertnykh Receives PLO's 'Abbas

LD1112145388 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, received today Muhammad 'Abbas, member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization who had arrived in Moscow to continue Soviet-Palestinian consultations.

On behalf of the PLO leadership Muhammad 'Abbas expressed high appreciation of an integrated concept of the restructuring of international relations set forth by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech made at the U.N. and conveyed gratitude for the solidarity he had expressed with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

During the conversation they analysed a situation that had taken shape in the Middle East settlement after the session of the Palestine National Council held in Algeria last November. It was pointed out that the constructive and realistic resolutions adopted by the PNC created more favourable conditions for the beginning of an effective settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the convocation of an international conference with the participation of permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all the parties concerned, including the PLO which is the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

The sides agreed on the need for stepping up joint efforts in the settlement of the Middle East situation on the basis of what had been accomplished by today, including in connection with the coming session in Geneva of the U.N. General Assembly which is to discuss the Palestinian problem. They discussed steps that could be taken in this direction.

Participants in the conversation pointed out that the most important thing today is to act in such a way as to develop a political basis for a constructive dialogue, to continue the quest for mutually acceptable solutions to controversial problems with a view to ensuring a real change for the better in the preparations for and the convocation of an international conference on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 388 of the U.N. Security Council, as well as a practical implementation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The PLO spokesman supported the continuation of Soviet-Palestinian coordination on all the aspects of a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a just solution of the Palestinian problem which is the core of it.

LTTE, JVP Coordination, Similarities Viewed

BK1112124988 Moscow International Service in Tamil 1400 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Pavel Sergeyev commentary]

[Text] As reported by THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, in its struggle against the Sri Lankan Government, the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] has expressed its support for the activities of the Sinhalese extremist organization, the People's Liberation Front [JVP], a few days ago. Many political observers feel that this is a shift in the strategy of the LTTE. What is the reason for this sort of shift? In the first instance, this sort of an announcement by the LTTE is quite suprising because the slogans of the representatives of these two extremist organizations indicate that their objectives are quite contrary to each other. The objective of the LTTE is to separate Tamil provinces from Sri Lanka and to form a separate state called Tamil Eelam. The Sinhalse extremists belonging to the JVP long for a unified Sri Lanka with Sinhalese handling the top posts. They do not recognize the right of autonomy of the minority Tamils.

In other words, both the LTTE and the extremist Sinhalese oppose the Indo-Sri Lanka accord aimed at solving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. But, there are many more things to be considered here.

Recent incidents have exposed the real nature and the several new features of the objectives of these two extremist organizations. As the Indo-Sri Lanka accord is being implemented in letter and spirit, the LTTE and the JVP have had to modify their activities. Despite intimidation by the LTTE, elections for the local administrative councils were held in the Northeastern Province. The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front and the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front emerged victorious in these elections. The governor of the Northeastern Province, Nalin Seneviratne, administered the oath of office to the members of the provincial council in Trincomalee a few days ago.

The election results indicate that the people support the strategy aimed at a political solution to the situation and the restoration of a peaceful life. The LTTE has been further isolated. Given these circumstances, it seems that the LTTE leaders have decided to overtly support the antigovernment activities of the JVP.

As we stated earlier, there are certain things common to these two extremist organizations. They both vehemently oppose the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, and they do not want to help the continuation of the democratic process in the country. Therefore, the Sinhalese extremists belonging to the JVP have lowered their criticism of the LTTE. They have started devising ways to coordinate their subversive activities with the LTTE. Like the LTTE, the Sinhalese extremist organization, the JVP, has also experienced many setbacks in its activities. The strikes sponsored by the Sinhalese extremists did not yield the desired results. They were not able to mar the arrangements for the presidential elections. Now, all the political forces in the country are gearing up to participate in the presidential elections. Thus, the JVP, which has lost its support among the Sinhalese people, has indulged in despicable terrorist activities. At present, there is no difference between the strategies of the LTTE and the JVP.

East Europe

Condolences to SFRY on Relief Plane Crash

LD1212160188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent a telegram of condolences to the SFRY leadership. It expresses profound condolences in connection with today's air crash in the region of Yerevan and the tragic death of the crew members of the Yugoslav cargo plane who were implementing the goodwill of the Yugoslav peoples in delivering medicine to those who have suffered through the earthquake in Armenia.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have stated that they share the feelings of grave loss and of grief along with the relatives and those near and dear to the deceased.

CPCZ's Stepan Interviewed on Restructuring

PM1112152188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague party city committee, by MOSTASS correspondents B. Shestakov and A. Yakovlev in Prague especially for MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: "Importance of Common Goals. Prague Days in Moscow Start Tomorrow"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Prague—Prague Days will be held in Moscow 5-9 December. On the eve of this friendship festival between the two capitals, M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague party city committee, gave an interview to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Correspondents] What are Communists in the Czechoslovak capital currently working on?

[Stepan] Currently the efforts of the Prague party organization are aimed at fundamentally restructuring our society's life. Restructuring in the capital has become completely specific in nature. Its main avenues were outlined by this year's CPCZ party organization conference.

It means, above all, the modernization and restructuring of the economy, including the gradual reduction of production of unpromising types of output and the expulsion from the city of unsuitable [neprofilnyy] enterprises and organizations. At the same time, we are striving to improve the services sector by redistributing labor resources, improving workers' material and moral interest, extensively introducing economic accountability, expanding the network of cooperative enterprises, and developing private initiative. The resolution of this task also presupposes the elimination within the city of all kinds of warehouses and offices. In this regard the tasks facing the Prague National Committee are changing and our responsibility for their resolution is increasing.

The democratization of the structure of management, which is meant to galvanize various strata of our society, remains an important goal. And the working methods of the CPCZ city committee, which should not supplant organs of people's power and economic management, are changing. It should be stressed in this regard that the National Front is a platform for launching a candid social dialogue and working out a unified opinion. National committees, which are the most important component of power in resolving questions of the city's development and its relations with the central authorities, should be based on the activeness of the population. The city committee is striving to break down bureaucratic barriers and make all citizens enterprising participants in the changes around them. Thus, meaningful conferences of city public committees have been held for the first time and national committees set up in residential suburbs on an experimental basis.

Considerable work is under way to improve the situation in the city. The working class, for instance, has supported the measures for combating speculators and expelling criminal elements from the city; the technical intelligentsia has welcomed the program for modernizing the city's industries; and cultural figures have approved the proposed cooperation program. Meetings between party workers and students have shown that the younger generation is seeking constructive ways of solving the problems of socialist society. The population actively supports the implementation of the ecological program and the fair resolution of housing questions.

Of course, there is also the braking mechanism to be combated. Obstacles are presented by departmental interests, difficulties in selecting economic leaders, and bureaucratism in the activity of the city's national committee, which has affected, in particular, the recording of the city's housing stock, the resolution of the question of supplying the city with fresh bakery products, and so forth. In addition to this there has been a lack of responsibility, the desire for wage-leveling, and the wait-and-see stand adopted by certain leaders. All this gives rise to distrust among people—after all, many loud but empty statements have been made in the past. The people can only be won over by concrete action.

[Correspondents] To what extent do the main avenues of restructuring in our countries coincide, and in which areas do they differ?

[Stepan] Quite honestly, I see no substantive differences. Possibly in certain places and at certain sectors we would be dealing with different levels of development. There are natural differences in customs and traditions. All this is quite understandable, and it is important to take into account and seriously analyze differences when setting goals and working out ways to achieve them. It is well known that unthinking formalism when "utilizing experience" has caused a great deal of trouble. At the same time, we should not allow the general laws of socialist development to be called into question for the sake of "specifics." We should not deceive ourselves by claiming that there is no such danger—it is very real.

"Braking elements" are perfectly aware that the new dynamism of social life leaves them no chance of survival. These elements include certain leaders in departments and organizations about to be scrapped, idlers who are quite happy about irresponsible wage-leveling, and people personally responsible for the mistakes of the past. There are also antisocialist groups trying to eliminate socialism under the guise of restructuring.

I would like to make it clear, of course, that these are extremes. Our main aims do coincide, which has been emphasized on more than one occasion. At a recent session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed that the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference are a rich source of inspiration to Czechoslovak Communists. This concerns enhancing the leading role of the party, implementing economic reform, democratizing society, increasing glasnost, and also other problems connected with building a modern, strong, socialist society.

[Correspondents] How do you view the possibilities for further developing friendly ties and collaboration between the party organizations and capital councils of Moscow and Prague?

[Stepan] The possibilities for this are considerable. First and foremost, these ties should be raised to a qualitatively new level, freed of formalism, and filled with comradely frankness. With this kind of foundation they can be successful and useful. Direct bilateral cooperation is the shortest way to overcome certain difficulties in the sphere of production modernization, consumer goods production, and the development of consumer services.

Friendly ties should also be extended to the sphere of ideology and culture. The answers to topical problems should be sought through joint seminars, discussions, research work, and reciprocal study courses. We should broaden cultural exchange, which is an area in which we are still marking time. We will give thought to how to give real substance to the program of ideological cooperation recently signed in Prague between the CPSU and the CPCZ. We are hoping to discuss many issues connected with strengthening ties during Prague Days in Moscow.

There needs to be a broad exchange of opinions on questions concerning the development of municipal services. Moscow has accumulated experience in developing individual activity in the services sector, and the new General Scheme for the Management of the City Economy is being put into practice. All this is of great interest to us.

[Correspondents] What is the main aim of the upcoming Prague Days in Moscow?

[Stepan] The answer to that question is very simple: to discuss the aforementioned issues with the people of Moscow and to take a new step in the direction of broadening and deepening cooperation, which is called upon to bring real results to both sides. And, of course, to show the people of Moscow modern-day Prague, its multifaceted life, and the joys and concerns of people who live in the Czechoslovak capital. The numerous exhibitions, theater performances, movie programs, debates at the discussion club, and meetings are called upon to fulfill this task.

[Correspondents] What would you like to wish the participants and viewers in this new meeting between the two fraternal capitals?

[Stepan] I would simply like to say: Let us get to know one another better and understand all the depth and importance of our common aims. The main task stems from this—the need to combine our efforts to attain these aims.

The people of Prague, like all CSSR citizens, are following the processes of renewal in the Soviet Union with great interest and attention. We wish restructuring success and see it as a reference point for future progress. We have a vital interest in seeing you succeed in all that you have planned.

The friendship between our peoples is deeply rooted in history and is made stronger by the blood shed in the fight against our common enemy and by our close collaboration in building socialism.

We have always regarded the Soviet Union as a reliable defense and support. Today Communists and all working people in the CSSR fully support your new revolution, which serves to strengthen socialism's positions and promote the Soviet people's prosperity. Further progress in socialist Czechoslovakia is also impossible without restructuring. I am sure that the next meeting between the two fraternal capitals will be further confirmation of this.

West Europe

French Ariane 10 Dec Launch Reported

LD1112061988 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] London December 11 TASS—The French Ariane space booster rocket was successfully launched from cosmodrome in French Guyana Saturday [10 December] night, the REUTER news agency reported.

The flight programme envisages the putting of two satellites, including a British one, into a near-earth orbit. The British satellite will be used for military purposes.

DER SPIEGEL Names Gorbachev Man of Year

LD1112132188 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 11 TASS—The latest issue of the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL carries on its front page a photo of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the inscription "Mikhail Gorbachev—Man of the Year". In the opinion of this influential weekly, the Soviet leader is the most outstanding political figure of the outgoing year.

The speech made by Gorbachev at the session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York is the most remarkable thing he has done so far, DER SPIEGEL pointed out. He did what none of the leading powers dared to do since the end of World War II: to reduce one's own armaments without any talks and additional conditions. After the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce unilaterally its Armed Forces and conventional armaments in Europe announced by the Soviet leader marked the second breakthrough on the way to the creation of a world with a minimal quantity of weapons.

Quite recently there were few people who believed that this could really be done. 500,000 soldiers, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 planes is more than Bundeswehr has at its disposal. This step taken by Moscow is convincing evidence of the sincerity of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union.

Describing changes taking place in the USSR, DER SPIEGEL wrote that a reform that seems to be the most far-reaching one in the modern history of humanity is being put into effect in the USSR under the leadership of Gorbachev. The weekly pointed to the progress achieved in the USSR in the sphere of glasnost in literature and art, in the rehabilitation of those who had fallen victim to repressions in the Stalin times, in the restructuring of the bodies of state power and the party apparatus and the modernization of industry. Gorbachev took upon himself a responsible and much greater burden than leaders of the major Western countries. This is why he has been described by right as the man of the year, DER SPIEGEL wrote in conclusion.

Italian Cooperation Commission Begins Talks

LD1212213988 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Rome December 12 TASS—Questions of the further deepening and development of all-round mutually-advantageous Soviet-Italian relations will be discussed by the 16th session of the mixed commission on economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Italy that opened in Rome today. The Soviet delegation to the session is headed by Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations.

Opening a plenary meeting of the session, Italy's Minister of Foreign Trade Renato Ruggiero expressed on behalf of the Italian Government and people profound sympathy for Soviet people in connection with the devastating earthquake that hit Armenia. He said Italy is prepared to provide any necessary relief to help liquidate the aftermaths of the natural calamity.

The participants in the meeting noted that the opening of the current session coincided with the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Italian treaty on commerce and shipping which provide the basis for successful cooperation between the two countries that has been developing most dynamically of late. This is, specifically, shown by numerous agreements concluded during the Soviet-Italian summit last October in Moscow, the summit which gave a strong impetus to the widening of areas of cooperation in conditions of perestroyka implemented in the USSR. The Italian side is of the opinion that it is precisely the Soviet Union which took the road of deep-going and bold reforms that can play the decisive role in the creation of a new world economic order.

Renato Ruggiero announced the Italian Government's decision to gradually lift from January next year restrictions on the export of more than 60 products from the Soviet Union. He said this measure is one of the steps simplifying trade exchange between the two countries. The participants in the session pointed to the important role of joint ventures in the development of bilateral cooperation and called for the further intensification of joint activity in the area.

The session of the mixed commission will last till Friday.

Katushev Thanks Andreotti for Aid

LD1212214188 Rome International Service in Italian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Prospects for the development of economic relations between Italy and the Soviet Union were the focus of a meeting held today between Foreign Minister Andreotti and Katushev, Soviet minister for foreign economic relations. Katushev, who participated in the Rome meeting of the Italian-USSR commission, expressed the gratitude of the Moscow government and the Soviet people for Italy's prompt willingness to aid the people stricken by the earthquake in Armenia.

Commission Discusses Ties With Italy in Moscow

Scientific Cooperation Discussed

PM1212095588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 9 December B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received G. Bonalumi, Italian deputy foreign minister and senator, who has come to take part in the work of the Fifth Session of the USSR-Italian Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation. During their conversation they discussed questions concerned with expanding and deepening scientific and technical ties between the two countries.

S. Romano, Italian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Foreign Affairs Officials Meet

PM1312103988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 9 December I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, had a meeting with G. Bonalumi, Italian under secretary of state for foreign affairs, who is in Moscow in connection with the latest session of the joint Soviet-Italian commission for scientific and technical cooperation.

During the conversation the sides touched on the problems of East-West relations and discussed some questions of Soviet-Italian bilateral ties.

Parliamentarians Visit Sweden, Mongolia

PM0812144988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparliamentary Links"]

[Text] A Soviet parliamentary delegation which is in Stockholm on an official visit, headed by G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met Tuesday with Kjell-Olof Feldt, Sweden's acting prime minister and minister of the economy and budget.

The exchange of opinions during the conversation dealt with restructuring in the Soviet Union and its influence on international life and the development of bilateral relations. The Swedish side showed great interest in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) plenum and extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet geared to further democratizing Soviet society. The new processes in the USSR, K.-O. Feldt said, are positively rated in Sweden.

Stressing the importance of establishing new political thinking in international relations, the conversation participants pointed out the need to continue vigorous actions in the sphere of detente and disarmament. In this context the Swedish representatives' attention was again drawn to the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk in October 1987 on reducing military activity and restricting the scale of air force and naval activity in the Baltic, North, Norwegian, and Greenland Seas, on extending confidence-building measures to them, and on peaceful cooperation in developing the resources of the North.

Dwelling on matters of Soviet-Swedish cooperation, the sides noted that opportunities exist for considerably expanding it.

There was a businesslike, keen discussion at a 6 December meeting between the chairmen of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers and members of the chambers' permanent commissions and an MPR People's Great Hural delegation on how to strengthen Soviet-Mongolian collaboration even more in various spheres in conditions of socialist renewal. During the comradely conversation it was stressed that Soviet-Mongolian relations are a striking example of the new type of interstate links, based on the unshakeable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Yu.N. Khristoradnov and A.E. Voss, chairmen of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, and Mongolian delegation head Ts. Namsray, Politburo member, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the People's Great Hural, shared experience of state building in the two countries.

There was a discussion of ways of further expanding links between the USSR Supreme Soviet and MPR People's Great Hural.

Further on Swedish Talks

PM1212125388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] A meeting between Sten Andersson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs, and a Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was held in Stockholm. The minister conveyed condolences from the king, the government, and the people of Sweden to the leadership and the people of the Soviet Union in connection with the serious consequences of the earthquake in Armenia.

The head of the Swedish diplomatic corps highly praised the peace initiatives announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations. The large unilateral reduction in armed forces planned by the Soviet Union, he noted, marks significant progress in the cause of disarmament. The implementation of these measures will have a positive impact on the entire international situation.

Restructuring in the Soviet Union, the talks participants noted, has favorably influenced the development of Soviet-Swedish relations. Increasingly broad cooperation in spheres such as the economy, environmental protection, education, and culture is in keeping with the interests of the two countries' peoples. The just-ended official visit by the Soviet parliamentarians, which took place at the invitation of the Swedish Riksdag, will also contribute to the strengthening of mutual understanding and mutual trust.

On 10 December the Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by G.S. Tarazevich returned to Moscow from Stockholm. It had visited Sweden on a return official visit at the invitation of the country's Riksdag (parliament).

At the airport the delegation was met by Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and other officials. A. Thunborg, Swedish ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

Khristoradnov Receives Finnish Parliamentarian

LD0812120788 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Today Johannes Virolainen, chairman of the Finnish Parliamentary Group, staying here at the invitation of the Soviet Parliamentary Group, was received by Yuriy Khristoradnov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Soviet Parliamentary Group.

There was a broad and constructive exchange of opinions on the main issues of the international situation and the role of inter-parliamentary cooperation in their settlement, as well as on the state and further development of Soviet- Finnish parliamentary relations. Both sides pointed to the importance of creating a climate of confidence in relations between all states.

The sides also discussed prospects for establishing in northern Europe a zone of peace and multilateral cooperation in accordance with realization of the Soviet Murmansk initiatives and the ideas of Finnish President Mauno Koivisto on confidence-building measures in the naval sphere.

The guest was informed in detail of the latest decisions on the reform of the Soviet political system and all-round democratization of Soviet society.

Moscow Television Profiles Finland's Koivisto

LD1012231688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1445 GMT on 10 December 1988 carries the 60-minute "International Program" featuring a "television portrait" of Finnish President Mauno Koivisto.

The program opens with film of program presenter Enn Anupyld conducting street interviews in Finland, in which he asks people's opinions of the president. The responses, in Finnish with superimposed Russian translation, are generally favorable of Koivisto. Next, there is a brief biography of Koivisto, showing his home town and where he lives presently.

This part is followed by an interview with Koivisto, apparently conducted in a rural Finnish house. The date of the interview is not given. Anupyld asks Koivisto about his family and interests. Koivisto's replies are accompanied by recorded video showing Koivisto with volleyball players and with his wife in the countryside.

Next, a further recorded interview is shown, this time apparently in a formal residence. The date of this interview is not given. The following exchange takes place, in Finnish with superimposed Russian translation:

[Anupyld] "Mr President, for more than 40 years now relations between Finland and the Soviet Union have been developing in the direction of broad, multifaceted cooperation in all spheres. How would you appraise the present state of those relations?

[Koivisto] "Certain traditions have already established themselves in our cooperation. Besides intergovernmental contacts, economic cooperation is developing on extremely broad foundations as well as contacts between ordinary citizens. Ties are becoming increasingly close.

[Anupyld] "The world is changing. The Soviet Union and Finland are also changing. New approaches are required to many questions. How can the problems connected with that be resolved?

[Koivisto] "I do not see any problems of a political nature in the future. There are, however, problems in respect of economic ties. They are caused by the fact that our imports from the Soviet Union are extremely one-sided. They consist primarily of oil and other forms of fuel. Now, in the context of the renewal of the Soviet economy, when enterprises have the right to take decisions, we should strive to establish effective ties at different levels. Our trade is conducted according to a clearing system. It is experiencing obvious difficulties. This means that we have to solve many problems. But we have regarded them and will continue to regard them in the spirit of good cooperation. I feel sure that in the changed conditions we shall also find new opportunities to develop economic cooperation as well."

Anupyld goes on to ask him about the main directions in Finland's foreign policy. Koivisto replies that the most important point in their foreign policy is to maintian good relations with neighboring countries, especially the Soviet Union. He also expresses his support for the disarmament efforts. He talks about Finland's role in the new thinking, its influence in the United Nations and the "common European home", and the forming of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and other Finnish disarmament-orientated initiatives. They continue:

[Anupyld] "Last autumn General Secretary Gorbachev made a speech in Murmansk on a wide range of problems regarding cooperation in the north. How would it be feasible in practical terms to start implementing the proposals made by him?

[Koivisto] "From our point of view it is very important that northern Europe be a zone of cooperation and not confrontation. The threat has already emerged that, with the reduction of arms in central Europe, they would be upgraded in marine areas. Gorbachev's proposals should be welcomed because the need for peaceful cooperation is expressed in them. And great prospects are open for that. Among those proposals there are many ideas that are of interest to us. In particular, we are interested in questions of environmental protection. And we eagerly take part in such cooperation with neighboring countries, including the Soviet Union. Murmansk Oblast has many natural resources and there is room here for international cooperation. That is also of interest to us."

In conclusion Anupyld asks Koivisto what effect Soviet restructuring and glasnost are having on Finland. Koivisto says that Soviet-Finnish relations are becoming ever closer, promoted by the developments of the last few years. He mentions his own meeting with Gorbachev in the USSR last year and the visit that Gorbachev is expected to make to Finland.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama's Solis Palma on Soviet Relations

LD0812101988 Moscow TASS in English 0013 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Panama City December 8 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Cuba will be an outstanding historic event, Panama's President Manuel Solis Palma said.

In an interview to correspondents of the Soviet news agency TASS and NOVOSTI press agency Eldar Abdullayev and Mikhail Baklanov, the president said the visit will mark an important stage in the drive for peace, security and development of relations of friendship and cooperation among nations.

"The trip to Havana by the Soviet leader, so popular and reputed in the international community, will not only be a continuation of his consistent and courageous efforts toward that goal but also reflect an increased international significance of Latin America," Palma said.

"This confirms the need for achieving mutual understanding and equality, and the principle of equal responsibility of all states and governments for the wellbeing and destinies of mankind longing to live under the conditions of durable peace and without wars and the threat of annihilation."

The president said the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue will make a worthy contribution to the solution of global problems and to efforts toward complete disarmament in the name of progress of all people.

"Gorbachev-initiated changes and reforms in the political, social and economic fields, under way in the Soviet Union, are an exceptionally positive factor in this context, helping to improve the international situation and strengthen the climate of trust and cooperation," Palma said.

"The processes of perestroyka, glasnost and democratisation have evoked immense interest and sincere sympathies around the world, including Panama.

"Gorbachev's prestige and popularity as a world leader are explained by the significance of these changes and their influence on the entire course of historical development and East-West relations.

"We wholeheartedly wish the Soviet leader success in his noble mission and in implementing tasks of transforming socialist society," Panama's president went on.

"These processes have aroused in Panama lively interest in the Soviet Union, in the life of its peoples, achievements in science and technology, economy and arts, in the history of the formation and development of the world's first socialist state," he said.

"The Soviet decision to join the protocol on neutrality of the Panama Canal enormously promoted the awareness of the need for establishing diplomatic relations between Panama and the Soviet Union and expanding their commercial, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation.

"No doubt, that positive move not only shows solidarity with Panama's efforts to achieve full sovereignty, genuine freedom and independence, and win the right to self-determination and to solve its problems without U.S. interference," Palma said.

"Under the conditions of a sharp aggravation of the situation in the country and, naturally, in the region due to the incessant aggression and interventionist actions of Washington, the Soviet decision became an important stabilising factor having a favourable effect on the situation in this explosive area of Latin America."

The president said the Panamanian Government attaches much significance to prospects of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

He pointed out that "in this case we proceed not from time-serving considerations, nor do we intend to use such a step against other countries or exert pressure in retaliation for U.S. aggressive actions."

"This only confirms the basic principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, underlying the country's foreign policies. These are maintenance of normal, equitable and friendly relations with all countries, respect for their sovereignty, independence, and choice of their own way.

"This is the historical reality of the present-day world, which does not depend on ideological or political differences. It is in this way that the decision of the Panamanian Government to approve the 1979 trade agreement with the USSR and submit its draft for consideration and approval by the Legislative Assembly should be assessed."

In conclusion, Solis Palma said that the forthcoming year will be a year of radical changes in the world and, specifically, in Panama.

"The processes of reforms and transformations in the USSR and the Gorbachev-implemented restructuring of the entire system of international relations, with an emphasis laid on the strengthening of peace, universal security and cooperation in the name of peoples' progress, have an enormous effect on the entire international community and make the United States and the rest of the West take reply steps in the same direction.

"Of course, all countries, above all developing ones including Panama, which badly need assistance from industrial powers in the drive against backwardness, poverty, hunger, diseases, foreign debts, illiteracy and unemployment, stand to gain from it,' the president said.

"After so many painful years of expectation, sacrifices and shocks, real prospects of progress and wellbeing are opening before us.

"But this requires joint efforts, courage and responsibility of leaders and consistent efforts by nations and governments for the sake of achieving noble and humane goals.

"The USSR and its leader Gorbachev are showing a worthy example in advancing toward progress of human civilisation."

On behalf of himself, the government and the people of Panama, the president wished the Soviet people and their leaders much success in implementing such important tasks for the benefit of the Soviet nation and the whole of the international community.

Nicaraguan Minister on Economic Situation

LD0912185988 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Caracas 9 December TASS—"United States' military aggression against Nicaragua carried out by groups of mercenaries led to the deaths of more than fifth thousand people. Material damage caused to the country as a result of the American economic blockade and war destruction is estimated at 12.3 billion dollars." This was confirmed on Thursday [8 December] by Nicaraguan Finance Minister William Hooper Arguello who is now on a working visit to Caracas, Venezuela.

He stressed that, according to the decision of the International Court of Justice in The Hague the U.S. ought to pay compensation for damage it helped to inflict. Washington should also remove its economic blockade, which has lowered the country's annual export income from 800 to 240 million dollars.

The minister pointed out that, despite extremely difficult circumstances when due to continuing military aggression Nicaragua has to divert essential human and material resources to defence, the government still pursues a resourceful economic policy.

Most attention is now paid to eliminating the consequences of the recent hurricane which left more than 250 thousand people homeless. Throughout the country the food programme is geared not only to feeding the population but also to producing extra products for export.

Plans for development of the health and education service are being successfully fulfilled along with other tasks designed to improve living standards.

CPSU's Niyazov Addresses Uruguayan Communists

PM1212144988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Congress of Uruguayan Communists"]

[Text] Montevideo, 11 Dec—S.A. Niyazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, and CPSU delegation head, made a speech at the 21st Communist Party of Uruguay [PCU] Congress here. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, he congratulated the delegates on their first legal party congress following long years of selfless work underground.

The congress delegates listened with profound interest to what he said about the progress of restructuring in the USSR and the practical initiatives and concrete proposals put forward by the party and the Soviet Government with a view to relaxing international tension and achieving general and complete disarmament. In this connection the congress delegates and guests greeted particularly attentively the report on the speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the UN General Assembly session and on the new concrete measures aimed at consolidating international peace.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, S.A. Niyazov presented the PCU congress with a gift—a picture entitled "Red Square." Jaime Perez, deputy general secretary of the PCU Central Committee, was then presented with the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples for his services in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress, his contribution to strengthening the friendship between the Soviet and Uruguayan peoples, and in connection with his 60th birthday. Receiving the award with great gratitude, J. Perez stressed that he viewed it not merely as recognition of his personal contribution to PCU activity but also as evidence of the high assessment of all Uruguayan Communists' selfless daily work.

Congress Concludes 11 Dec

LD1212090188 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Montevideo December 12 TASS—The 21st Congress of the Uruguayan Communist Party ended here yesterday. Over 3,000 delegates from the Communist Party, representatives of other political parties and organizations forming the broad coalition of anti-imperialist and patriotic forces of Uruguay attended the congress as well as delegations from fraternal communist and workers' parties of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries and a delegation from the Soviet Communist Party led by Saparmurad Niyazov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party.

The congress elected the new Uruguayan Communist Party Central Committee. Jaime Perez was elected general secretary of the Central Committee and Rodney Arismendi chairman of the Central Committee.

Political & Social

Gorbachev at Armenia Conferences on Quake

*PM1312122188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2*

[TASS report on two conferences conducted by M.S. Gorbachev at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee: "The Pain and Concern of the Armenian People Is the Pain and Concern of the Entire Country"]

[Text] Saving people from under the ruins of wrecked buildings, providing them with food and temporary accommodation, and many other immediate tasks connected with overcoming the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia were the subject of two conferences conducted by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee during his 2-day stay in this Transcaucasian republic.

Also taking part were Nikolay Ryzhkov, Nikolay Slyunkov, Dmitriy Yazov; deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers Yuriy Batalin, Lev Voronin, Boris Shcherbina; AUCCTU chairman Stepan Shalayev; Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee; the leaders of a number of union ministries and departments, Suren Arutyunyan, Grant Voskanyan, Fadey Sarkisyan, and other party and state leaders of the republic.

The most grave human tragedy has ocurred, Mikhail Gorbachev said. We knew of its scale even earlier, but it was just impossible to imagine such destruction and victims. The whole of the country shares the grief of the Armenian people.

Rescue operations have to be stepped up in all areas. Every hour is precious. Yesterday alone 200 people were helped out alive; today—50. The experience of the earthquake in Mexico bears out that rescue operations have to be continued. There, even on the 13th day, people were found alive. That means we have to make maximum use of all possibilities.

In this connection M.S. Gorbachev drew the attention of those taking part in the conference to the fact that there were cases of uncontrolled distribution of machinery. One house had several cranes, another had none. Often people seize cranes on the roads and direct them to their district. In human terms you can understand them, but without the appropriate organization you won't get things moving as quickly as is needed. Care also has to be taken that people who have lost their relatives are able to carry out their final duties to them, and bury them according to the customs of their ancestors.

The question arises of where those who have been left homeless are to live. Women and children have already begun to travel from the disaster areas to Armenia's cities and rayons, and to other republics. The instruction has been given throughout the country that the stricken should be received locally by the executive committees of the soviets. Everything has to be foreseen, down to petty details, and food and temporary housing must be provided for those who have suffered, and for those who are engaged in rescue work. The trade unions must display the maximum of activity. The little children and the women must be suitably placed and looked after straight away!

Turning to D.T. Yazov, Mikhail Sergeyevich noted: We must bear in mind that the soldiers called up into the Army from these areas wish to come to the aid of their dear ones. They must be given leave.

Alongside the urgent matters, we should already be thinking through the questions of tomorrow: how to restore life in the stricken towns and villages, and rebuild them. In view of this, M.S. Gorbachev asked those participating in the meeting to report on the progress of rescue work.

One of the most important conditions for people to be saved is the presence of the necessary equipment to clear the rubble. Heavy-duty cranes are particularly needed. Their total reached almost 700 by the evening of 11 December, it was noted at the conference. There are dozens more on their way, or being made ready at factories. By the middle of next week it is expected to bring their numbers up to 1,000, and then to fully meet all needs. Arriving with the cranes and other equipment are brigades of workers, specialists, repair workers, tanker drivers, gas-cutter operators, and so forth.

Deliveries of everything necessary for the provision of amenities for those who have suffered at the hands of the elements are being intensified. Tents for 300,000 people have been delivered, and temporary stoves are being made to heat them. The question of the provision of warm clothing, linen, and blankets has been resolved. The unloading of 1.5 thousand cabins for temporary housing—for roughly 50 thousand square meters—has begun. At depots, slate, soft roofing material, and window glazing is being accumulated—all this will be handed out to the population. An additional 1,000 tipper-trucks, 200 bulldozers, and 100 excavators have been allocated. Schedules have been worked out and their unloading is being monitored.

The next question is the restoration of the life of the towns. Of four water supply systems, one has been restored, and it is also necessary to deliver water. Electrical power has been supplied to some regions, and the railway station, airport, hospital, clinic, and blood transfusion station are being supplied with light.

Let us remember the lessons of Chernobyl, M.S. Gorbachev said. At that time these problems were resolved by the whole country. An earthquake is not a nuclear explosion, but a catastrophe such as in Armenia is akin to it. In the first instance it is necessary to send children and women to sanatoriums and rest homes. Tens of thousands of beds have been made available for this in Georgia, Krasnodar, and Stavropol Krays. Let whole classes with their teachers go. This task is among the most important.

At the conference, the question of the coordination of activities was raised. At present, tens of transport aircraft are arriving in Yerevan and Leninakan every day, and often they are flown at the initiative of authorities in various corners of the country. Added to this are aircraft from many countries of the world. Without the requisite organization, one will not succeed in making rational use of people and equipment. In this connection, the wish was expressed to appeal to all those who have decided to provide aid to advise the Politburo Commission and the leadership of the republic in advance.

Many good things were said at the conference about the bravery of party workers who took upon themselves the organization of rescue work, despite their own sorrow. M. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of Leninakan Gorkom lost relatives, but remained at his post. N. Muradyan, first secretary of Spitak Raykom, who also lost relatives, has been working day and night. Not sparing themselves, the local inhabitants and those doctors, specialists, workers who have come from Yerevan, Tbilisi, Moscow, and other towns of the Soviet Union are helping to overcome the disaster.

A discussion was held about transport, upon which the progress of the rescue work depends to an enormous extent. The task set first and foremost for the railwaymen was to link Leninakan and Spitak. Six substations have been destroyed, as well as all termini and terminus facilities. At the moment it is only possible to travel to Spitak from Tbilisi. Tunnels and bridges on the Sevan-Radzan section are operational, and passenger trains can get through.

Nikolay Ryzhkov remarked that 8 days have been allowed for the restoration of the railways. That is the limit.

Health Minister Yevgeniy Chazov said we have come up against a situation which mnost likely has never happened before in the world. The radius affected was 80 km. Primary treatment of the injured had to be carried out in the dark; there was no water; people were working in field conditions. At present, 200 medical teams are in action, 500 doctors have been brought in from the country's leading medical institutions, and several hospitals have been deployed.

One-thousand six-hundred operations have been performed. Sixty injured have been sent to Moscow; we think another 200 will be sent today and tomorrow. There is now no need for additional doctors, but they are continuing to telephone from all corners of the country, wanting to help.

As for blood for transfusions, enough blood has been received. Nevertheless, people are still volunteering to give blood. We have many people affected by shock. There is a lack of kidney dialysis machines. We are taking measures to prevent an epidemic. Two sanitary-hygiene laboratories have been set up manned by 30 teams; food and water are being checked.

Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the need to give meaning to all the experience accumulated here, to draw lessons for all services and directions. It is clear, for example, that a form of "medical rapid deployment force" is needed in case of such a calamity. There should be helicopters, medicines, and tools. It is especially important to evacuate the women and children. It is difficult to persuade them, but it is necessary. The men, I think, will stay behind to restore life in their home towns and villages.

Stepan Shalayev said that the AUCCTU sees its main task as precisely this. All the republic's sanatoria have been made operational, providing over 4,000 places, and a considerable quantity of trade union health facilities have been assigned in Adler, Sochi, Georgia, and other places. In the first few days it was not possible to persuade people to leave, but from today there are permanent centers operating to give help in the evacuation. Already 310 people have been taken out of Leninakan. It will take approximately R100-120 million to pay benefits from trade union funds, and we have that potential. To help the victims, collectives of related enterprises are also being brought in. They will find places for their fellow workers and assist the restoration of enterprises. Many collectives are now announcing subbotniks, and sending the money earned to Armenia.

Fadey Sarkisyan reported that according to the latest assessments, 700,000 people have been affected and 500,000 are homeless.

In Leninakan, 80 percent of all housing has been lost, and in Spitak, almost all. I would like to note that there is not a single republic, not one kray, and not one oblast that has not responded to our troubles. People are telephoning to ask what is needed and offering things.

In connection with the fact that clearing up the aftermath of the earthquake is being made more difficult by the presence of a considerable number of refugees, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the leadership in Armenia and Azerbaijan is faced with the task of getting people back to their homes, and, of course, guaranteeing their full security.

In Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak, many people I met in the last few days have been saying: It must be stopped! How false it is to play on something such as national spirit of the people at this time. We must take a grip on reason and think how we are going to go on living, and how to return relations to their normal channel. In this it is demanded of the leaders that they take up a clear and principled position, and give a rebuff to provocateurs. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of both Armenia and Azerbaijan must tell the refugees: Go back to your homes, and if anyone stands in your way on that path, they must be resolutely put in their place by using the whole strength of our Soviet power. D.T. Yazov reported on the assistance being given by the Soviet Army. Some 150 heavy aircraft have gone into action in the air and at airports. A considerable proportion of them have arrived with cranes. In Leninakan alone, servicemen have deployed 150 field kitchens and have erected more than 800 large tents. The cranes are being supplied by 60 gasoline tankers, and two construction detachments are participating in knocking down and clearing debris.

In conclusion, Mikhail Gorbachev said: The rate of work must be stepped up on all fronts. We have agreed that Nikolay Ryzhkov and Nikolay Slyunkov will remain here for several more days. Now we are in the decisive days and nights; we must help people out of their trouble.

Yuriy Batalin and Boris Shcherbina are to give increased attention to the organizational side of matters, and will create a mechanism for administration. It would be very good if Dmitriy Yazov can succeed in restoring communications in the stricken areas in 24-36 hours.

It is necessary that the working people in the republic and in the country know that things are being done. People have been stunned by what has happened. They must be given exhaustive information. Prepare decisions on all questions requiring a solution, in particular, on rendering material assistance and compensation for damage incurred. In another week's time the next stage will begin: We will need to get people supplied and sheltered, and to revive life here.

I would especiallay like to say this. During the visit to Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan, people were asking whether their children, who are being sent to various towns in the country, would be put into children's homes. Comrades, you must tell the people and the mass media that on no account will this happen. May they live there only for as long as is necessary: A month, 2, 5, or a year. The trade unions are bearing the costs of this.

I have been asked: Will the stricken towns be rebuilt? There can be only one answer to this: Yes, the towns, settlements, and villages must be rebuilt, for this is the land of the forefathers of the present generations, who do not wish to leave the places where their fathers and mothers have lived. The local authorities must waste no time; battle must be waged against political demagogues. That's all we need, to sow panic during a time of national misfortune, when not only Armenia, not only the whole of our country, but the whole world is grieving!

But look at what the "Karabakh" committee is insinuating. Taking advantage of certain mistakes by the local authorities in organizing the rescue work, its members are doing their utmost to seize the initiative. And they are not bothered about what methods they use. They put about the rumor that an even stronger earthquake is expected and they got some Armenian scientists in to back them up. We immediately called up scientists from Moscow and Leningrad, and they all agreed that there is no basis for such forecasts.

Here is another example: They claim that Armenian children will not return from Russian families, that the Armenians will be resettled in Krasnoyarsk Kray for good. And this at a time when representatives of all the union republics have decided that the affected population centers can be rebuilt in 2 years using designs that meet all the seismic zone requirements. Some R5 billion are needed to rebuild the housing and industrial and agrarian enterprises. And we will find the money. The whole country has come to the Armenian people's aid.

We will restore this land without fail. I saw what beautiful places there were here. Of course, another government commission will have to be set up in order to find out, in particular, who was to blame for the construction of high-rise buildings here, for the fact that there was no cement to speak of in the ferroconcrete blocks, but an inordinate amount of sand. So the cement had been stolen. By whom?

We do not need aktiv meetings now, M.S. Gorbachev stressed: Everyone must be with the people. I admire such Communists as Comrades Mkrtchyan and Muradyan. Although they have lost their families, they are with people day and night, giving them assistance. Everyone must be told of such people. The whole world has responded to the disaster in Armenia: our friends—the socialist countries—and the Americans, the French, and the Swiss; help has come from the British, from the FRG—innumerable places. This is an example of human solidarity, a manifestion of common human values. This is not to mention our people's reaction. What nobility, what willingness to come to the aid of a fraternal republic!

That is the way we should be: together, one family—in joy and in misfortune.

Gorbachev Interview Remarks Meet Approval

LD1212205288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our special correspondents report from Yerevan and Baku that the working people of these fraternal republics have received with warm approval the strict and correct evaluations expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in an interview with Soviet television, on the activity of the nationalist elements existing in both republics which do not disdain to use for their purposes even the tragedy which has occurred in Armenia.

Everyone here has been deeply stirred by the honest and direct evaluation of the situation in the region given by the general secretary and by his correct criticism of the positions of the adventurists from the so-called Karabakh committee. People believe that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement and the ideas he expressed in the interview will be of benefit to the normalization of the situation and to strengthening relations of friendship between the two neighboring peoples.

Ryzhkov Briefs Press, Expresses Gratitude

LD1212222988 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 13 TASS—Our priority task is to do our utmost to save the survivers, said Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, who heads the Politburo commission to coordinate the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia. He spoke here on Monday at a meeting with Soviet and foreign newsmen.

What happened five days ago is enormous tragedy with no parallels in the history of the Soviet state, Nikolay Ryzhkov said. All Soviet republics have taken part in liquidating the consequences of the natural disaster.

Nikolay Ryzhkov refuted the rumours that at two chemical plants of Armenia there was allegedly a leakage of poisonous gasses. To meet the wishes of the Armenian public, he went on to say, it is planned to shut down the Armenian NPP although there is strong confidence in the safety of its operation. The proposed stoppage of the plant will be carried out in 1989-1990. It will involve not only extinguishing the reactors, discontinuing the functioning of the power blocks but also disposing of the nuclear fuel, and this will take two years.

On behalf of the Soviet Government Nikolay Ryzhkov expressed a heart-felt gratitude to governments, public organisations and individuals of foreign countries for their moral and material support and assistance to the earthquake- stricken Armenia.

In the past we had to go through the Chernobyl experience. At that time the international situation was completely different, Nikolay Ryzhkov said. He said that the big changes that have occurred since are the result of the new political thinking. And now, with an enormous tragedy afflicting our land, we begin to realise that the universal human values and the very survival of our civilisation are the principal things in the world.

Nikolay Ryzhkov expressed condolences to the people and the Government of Yugoslavia in connection with the tragic death of the members of the crew of the Yugoslav plane which flew to Yerevan with a cargo for the victims of the earthquake.

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov Tour Area 12 December

LD1212202388 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 12 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

The Politburo earthquake commission is keeping a busy working schedule in Armenia.

It was reported at another meeting reviewing the progress of rescue efforts today that on the fifth day since the tremors in Leninakan 64 more people were pulled alive from under the rubble, bringing the total number of survivors to 5,398. Those with serious injuries were rushed to Yerevan hospitals.

Earlier troubles with food supplies have ended. Some 200 Army field kitchens have been set up. Mobile cafes have been moved into affected areas.

Snowfall and subzero temperatures are expected there. It was decided to leave only men for rehabilitation operations. They will sleep in cold-proof caravans or in modest but cosy passenger cars which will arrive from West Germany and be lined up in deadends.

All Armenia's sanatoriums are already full. Women with children and old people are going to go to the Krasnodar region, Georgia, the Crimea, Moldavia and the Ukraine where accommodation has been prepared for tens of thousands at local rest homes.

Children are going there mostly with mothers and in whole classes—with teachers and Armenian-language textbooks.

Heavy-duty cranes, essential to disassembling large-panel buildings, continue arriving to the quake-stricken cities from various areas. Austria, for instance, is going to send two giant cranes with a lifting capacity of 60 tons.

However, even such powerful equipment would not have given so much hope for rescuing people trapped under rubble if it had not been for the rescuers. a rescue team from Moscow is especially distinguished here for its selflessness.

Rescuers from Donetsk have already found 40 survivors and 360 bodies. They work together with specialists from France, Italy, West Germany, Britain and Switzerland.

Today, Soviet head of Government and Politburo member Nikolay Ryzhkov and another Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Nikolay Slyunkov visited rural areas of Armenia in the disaster zone with a view to speeding up rescue efforts there.

In the Akhuryan, Spitak and Gugark districts, they acquainted themselves with the scale of destruction. Fifteen rural districts in the republic were hit by the earthquake. Twenty-eight settlements were destroyed completely.

The cost of forthcoming construction and assembly work is estimated at 1.3-1.5 billion roubles. Facilities of the processing industry were seriously damaged. Fifteen enterprises were completely put out of order.

Urgent measures have been taken to sharply speed up work in destroyed villages. Each of the 15 earthquake-stricken rural districts of Armenia is being rendered effective assistance by a specific constituent republic.

Speak With Villagers

LD1312005888 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 12 December in its "Vremya" newscast carries a report by correspondent A. Tikhomirov on the situation in the Armenian villages in the earthquake zone. He says the situation in the villages is even more dramatic because the villages are so small the survivors know exactly how many of their neighbors have died. The video shows an aerial view of the Armenian countryside and then a building in ruins.

Tikhomirov says that in the village of Dzhadzhur there are only a few people left alive. The video then shows a group of villagers gathered around Politburo members Nikolay Ryzhkov and Nikolay Slyunkov, with whom they speak.

Ryzhkov says: "Yesterday after we had seen Mikhail Sergeyevich off, we sat up till late in the evening and looked into everything. We came to the conclusion that, indeed, the time has come to show great concern for the rural areas. For the 4 days... for 5 days, naturally the main forces have been deployed in the towns because people are still lying there, and there are people who are still alive, so we sent teams over there. Then we called others during the night and they have come, Comrade (Sizenko), for example, from Moscow. We have called them to come here. Today our task is to go around the area by air and to see with our own eyes what the situation is like. We have information that 28 villages have been totally destroyed, 28 villages. Altogether 120 villages have been hit; of them 28 have been destroyed completely and the others in part. Our task is now to appoint a representative in every village, a senior official from Yerevan or Moscow, so that they should determine what is required—railway trucks, for example."

Slyunkov says: "They should know what to do; precisely, to carry out work from beginning to end, from emergency measures to permanent homes."

Ryzhkov then says: "We are involving all republics, the state agro-industrial committees of all republics, for example. A Russian region comes up and takes care of a village—of your village, for instance—so that they should send builders and assembly workers here, to rebuild your industry, as the saying goes, animal farms, to repair and rebuild houses. Trains with prefabricated houses are on their way now; we think they can be assembled and faced with tufa or bricks, or with something else. So, from this day, we will start looking after villages in earnest. Therefore, we understand that it is high time already, and yesterday we drew this firm conclusion for ourselves. I think that starting from today, a day, perhaps, will be spent on organizing things and appointing people but we will start sending clothes here, if required, or railway trucks or tents, for the time being. Let us use tents so that people do not have to sleep in the straw. So now we are starting to get down to this matter in earnest."

The video switches to shots of a house in ruins and a woman in tears. Ryzhkov is seen coming out of a helicopter, approaching another group of villages. The name of the village is not mentioned. Ryzhkov is shown talking to a woman, his initial remark is not heard:

[Woman] "I am taking them to my place. [points to two elderly men]

[Ryzhkov] "Where do you live?

[Woman] "I live in Yerevan.

[Arutyunyan—not further] "She is their sister, and she is taking them to her place.

[Man] "Yes, she is my sister and I am going with her. I have been a machine-operator for 40 years but now...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] "Of course, she should take you with her. When we rebuild the village, you will come back to live here then.

[Woman] "Yes, by all means.

[Arutyunyan] "Have many people died in the village?

[Voices off-screen] "Very many; 80 percent have died.

[Woman] "Yes, 80 percent are no longer living; only 20 percent are left. Only the elderly and disabled are left. All young people have died."

As more details about victims are given, the man starts to cry.

[Ryzhkov, off-screen] "So, 80 percent of this village's population have died?

[Woman] "Yes, only 20 percent remain.

[Man, pointing] "Over there 158 have died.

[Woman] "Only the elderly and disabled remain. Young people and children all...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] "You mean children?

[Woman] "All the children have died."

The video shows an aerial view of the area and then switches to another village where Ryzhkov and Arutyunyan and others are listening to a woman address a group of villagers. She tells them that only 400 people are left in their village and then when food was brought from another place, the driver wanted an official to sign the covering document; as there was no official available—they all had died—he just drove off with the food.

The video then shows Ryzhkov and Slyunkov talking to a correspondent in a bus.

[Ryzhkov] "This village has no leadership at all. Food was brought in here but there was nobody was here to sign for it!

[Correspondent] "There was nobody to sign the document.

[Ryzhkov] "Nobody indeed!

[Correspondent] "So the mechanism that necessarily requires a signature is still operating—the driver himself could not simply give it to people!

[Slyunkov] "That was an idiot! He just drove off because there was nobody to sign the document!

[Ryzhkov] "Have you seen the bus that is standing over there? This bus has come 120 km; people have brought food and have given it to people.

[Slyunkov] "They go around villages and distribute food.

[Arutyunyan] "Incidentally, this also should be mentioned: people bring bread on their own initiative—nobody prompted them to do that.

[Ryzhkov] "That bus stood over there, we went inside."

The video then shows Ryzhkov in two other villages, showing brief conversations between Ryzhkov and a few individuals. Ryzhkov tells them, "We will help you, by all means. That is why we have come here."

Nikiforov, Others at 12 Dec News Conference

LD1212175988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] A news conference was held in Moscow today in connection with the earthquake in Armenia. Journalists were addressed by Panyukov, first deputy minister of civil aviation; Voznesenskiy, head of the USSR Council of Ministers' Information Department; Bibin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee; and Nikiforov, deputy foreign minister. Here is what they spoke about.

[Begin recording] [Panyukov] On 7 December, following the report of the tragedy in Armenia, a headquarters under the command of the minister of civil aviaiton was formed in the Ministry of Civil Aviation. The whole ministry has gone onto an around-the-clock schedule, without interruption, as have all its territorial directorates. The whole of the air fleet, both passenger and all cargo aircraft, have been put into action to render assistance to the Armenian people.

As early as 7 December we started delivering medical staff, doctors, from all of our country's airports. On 7 December Comrade Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, minister of health, flew out from Vnukovo. More than 100 doctors and medical staff from Moscow went with him. Medical staff were delivered from other cities—Leningrad, Kiev and other cities of our country.

All organizations of the Soviet Union, all collectives, are giving a great deal of help. In recent days we have carried a very great deal of blood, medicines, foodstuffs, tents, and warm clothing; and this work is continuing. I can say that up to the present hour we have already done more than 200 flights on IL-86, TU-154 and IL-76 aircraft, and have delivered more than 10,000 specialists. These include doctors, medical staff, mining rescue teams, construction specialists and builders, and electrical engineers, who are giving Armenia help.

We have given our consent to all countries for aircraft to fly both to Yerevan—and we have opened up Leninakan as well—and to other airports in the Soviet Union. Cables have been (?sent) to all Aeroflot general representatives and to ambassadors to render every assistance to movements by aircraft of foreign airlines and by Aeroflot aircraft which are flying cargoes of aid for Armenia.

[Voznesenskiy] The USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material-Technical Supply] reports that schedules for the supply of all the necessary materials, equipment, foodstuffs, and clothing have been compiled in connection with eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia. First and foremost, warm underwear, jackets, trousers, and blankets are being sent by air. Aircraft are also delivering heated tents with stoves.

Aircraft are also delivering cranes with lifting capacity up to 10 tonnes, dump trucks, and drinking water tanks, mobile shops, road-building vehicles, and even hearses.

About 400 carloads of timber materials have already been loaded and dispatched on the railways, and a total of 1,300 to 1,400 railroad cars are being loaded daily. Overnight, part of the freight was delivered to Baku and Tbilisi, from where all this was sent off to the disaster area in special motor convoys escorted by the GAI [State

Motor Vehicle Inspectorate]. Gossnab is fully guaranteeing the supplies of all forms of fuel, including aviation kerosene, in order for aircraft to work without interruptions.

[Bibin] The country's builders are faced with two basic tasks. The first task is connected with taking apart and clearing away all the ruined structures and buildings; and the second task, which is somewhat further off but which in practice has already begun to be implemented, concerns restoration and construction of new buildings and structures. The dismantling is progressing, as you know; the press and television have described it and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has also spoken about this. Five hundred cranes have already been sent there, concentrated there. In the main it is cranes with lifting capacities of 16, 25, and 40 tonnes that are being sent because, well, I have seen this for myself; the earthquake took its own very peculiar course, a combination of various horizontal and vertical waves, and for that reason the buildings collapsed in a chaotic way; they did not just fold like a stack of shelves, but into chaotic piles. The dismantling of these ruins, these piles, is proving very heavy work; we need powerful cranes and manual work along with them.

A large design group has already been formed who are to examine the areas for construction. It is intended to build about 5 million square meters of housing, schools with places for 140,000, kindergartens for up to 80,000; and apart from this, hospitals and polyclinics, with up to 8,000 beds in the polyclinics. A group of scientists—a group of seismologists—is now working in order to revise the established level of seismicity in these areas.

[Nikiforov] As of today, 46 countries are already giving assistance to those who suffered in the earthquake. Rescue workers, whole brigades, are at work in Armenia. At present, there are 923 foreign specialists concentrated there, with 216 dogs which are helping to search for those still alive and helping to rescue them. Aircraft are arriving. A large volume of such aid continues to arrive from the socialist countries. Fully equipped field hospitals, medical posts, construction equipment, medical instruments, and medicines are arriving from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the GDR, Hungary, Yugoslavia. Algeria has sent a consignment of medical equipment. The FRG has put at our disposal 500 railway cars to house people; this is of great help. Heavy construction machinery is being sent to Armenia—which is extremely necessary there at the moment to give help—by the government and also by a number of West German firms.

In short, all of this is of great help, for which we thank foreign leaders and the peoples of all countries.

Unfortunately, it is with great sorrow that we have to report that there are also accidents. Last night, an aircraft carrying cargo from socialist Yugoslavia crashed on its approach to Yerevan, and seven crew members died. I have been instructed to express profound condolences to our Yugoslav comrades, and to assure them that we shall always preserve the memory of the friends who hurried to help us in our time of distress.

[Panyukov] On 11 December, the day of the crash of the IL-76 airplane, civil aviation was looking after air control. The first impressions are that guidance was implemented competently and all right. The crew of the IL-76 airplane of the military transport command was provided with all the necessary conditions to implement its final approach—the condition of the aerodrome and the weather conditions. The crew began its approach normally, there were not deviations. In the area of the third turn—that is, going from the third to the fourth turn—the blip on the radar disappeared. The crashed plane was found after a search, but everybody had died. A commission has been appointed by the Ministry of Defense, bringing in specialists from civil aviation (?and Gosaeronadzor), and it is carrying out an investigation at present. As to any causes, we simply do not have any information so far.

As concerns the AN-12 airplane of Yugoslavia's military air transport command, I can report the following: that the radio technical facilities at Yerevan airport were functioning normally. The AN-12 aircraft had a seven-man Yugoslav crew. The aircraft, carrying a cargo intended for Armenia, took off from Skopje airport in Yugoslavia. It then took the international air lane across... we call the lane (?Orange-4). It got in touch with the Yerevan flight control center, and began its maneuvers for approach to land. Guidance was also given by air traffic control staff. The crew carried out all the maneuvers. At 12 or 13 kms, the blip on the radar disappeared. After a search, the AN-12 aircraft—there had been an explosion, it blew up—was found. There is a road some 12 or 13 km away; the wreckage was near the road and seven people had died.

A commission has been set up to investigate the aviation incident, headed by the deputy chairman of the State Commission for the Supervision of Air Safety in our country, and including specialists from civil aviation, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, and other ministries and departments. Here too, we so far have no information on the causes. The commission has started its work. [end recording]

Further Reportage on Situation Within Armenia

More on Arrested Nationalists

AU1012195488 Paris AFP in English 1941 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Dec 10 (AFP)—Soviet military officers on Saturday arrested five Armenian nationalists including a local official while they were collecting clothes and other supplies for earthquake victims, a nationalist said.

Ambartsum Galstyan, a member of the Karabakh committee which has spearheaded the Armenian campaign for the re-incorpoation of Nagorno-Karabakh, a mainly Armenian territory annexed to Azerbaijan under Stalin, said five members of the committee had been arrested.

He named them as Lever Ter-Petrossian, Babken Araksian, Vazgen Manukian, Acot Manachurian, a member of Armenia's Supreme Soviet, or regional parliament, and Samvel Devorkian.

He said a high-ranking officer had asked the Karabakh Committee to order some 1,000 people out of an arts centre where they were delivering clothes and other goods. When committee members refused to obey, the five were arrested. [passage omitted]

Criminal Proceedings Foreseen

PM1212182088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[N. Krivomazov report: "We Must Build a Home"]

[Excerpt] Yerevan, Moscow, 12 Dec—[Passage omitted] In times of trouble you do not shrug your shoulders or gesticulate in search of the ultimate, you get on with the job. The whole of Armenia, the whole country, the whole world are lightening this heartfelt pain. But there are also those who, deliberately or otherwise, are making it worse. There are telegrams of "congratulation" on the disaster. Obviously criminal proceedings will be taken in every such case. In wartime they dealt with saboteurs, panic-mongers, and deserters speedily and publicly, in front of the ranks. So it was all the more terrible to see several dozen people who have not yet realized that northwestern Armenia today is really like wartime. They stood waiting for M.S. Gorbachev, talking about only one thing—Karabakh. I went up to them and started telling them that up there in the mountains I had seen the "last day of Pompeii," after which it will be necessary really to create a new world for those cities. But a major argument, to put it mildly, hung in the air. People started accusing me of not having been to Karabakh.

"But I have been to Leninakan, Spitak. And Kirovakan!"

They seemed to understand me. They seemed to realize. But at the meeting with the Central Committee general secretary they started talking about the same old thing again. "From Azerbaijan we hear the slogan: We will die rather than surrender Karabakh; from here, we hear: We will die rather than not take Karabakh," he said. And that is what people say who have not seen how people died in the mountains from the underground bombing raid. How yesterday a little boy suddenly climbed out from under the total ruins of Spitak and walked off. "Where are you going?" "Home." But home is not there any more. And there is no one at home...

In the center of Leninakan there is a store that has caved in. A crooked sign reads "Tartu." Apparently Leninakan is twinned with Tartu in Estonia.

I do not want to make any generalizations today—it would be premature, and any such generalization would have to be adjusted to take account of the tragedy. I simply asked whether many people from Estonia work here. The reply was: "Yes, a great many! They spent the whole fall here helping to set up a Popular Front, calling on us to act."

"That was in the fall, but now?"

"None, for the moment," an oxyacetylene cutter operator from Bashkiria replied.

I know, I am sure, that it is only "for the moment." Every republic will build an apartment block, a street, a district here. Freight is coming in from Estonia too, I emphasize this fact in the hope that the Popular Front instigators will take a real informal decision.

However, that decision has already been taken by all the republics. And quickly. Newspapers and the television have started talking "Armenian." The names of the former cities are now current everywhere. This is indeed a time to gather stones together. To build a new house.

Health Minister on Orphans, Disease

NC1312080088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1300 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Interview with Armenian Deputy Health Minister Larisa Muradyan by unidentified Yerevan radio correspondent at the Health Ministry; date not given—recorded; questions given in Armenian with answers in Russian]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Muradyan, rumors have been spreading that as a result of the earthquake, the [words indistinct] children who have suffered are being sent to various rayons where they will be staying in children's homes or [word indistinct].

[Muradyan] It is true, there is talk that many of our compatriots from Moscow and other cities around the country would like to take in children that have been orphaned. However, under no circumstances will we hand over a single child to any country or republic, because we have [words indistinct] in order, first of all, to settle these children. Second, we have very few such children, very few. These are children that have been orphaned. In practical terms there are not many of them and we are fully capable of keeping them (?in Armenia). We in the Ministry of Health [words indistinct] and hand them over to children's homes from where those who would like to do so will be able to take these children. [words indistinct] our own people [words indistinct]. At the present time in our republic, the Ministry of Health and the entire medical establishment are devoting all their energies and all their strength, working day and night, to save the population and (?our children) in particular.

[Correspondent] On the basis of figures to far, how many children have been [words indistinct]? What information can you give on this?

[Muradyan] As of now there are 218 children spread around the [words indistinct] hospitals. How many of them are orphans [words indistinct] but 201 children. [words indistinct] up to now, as you know, are working in Leninakan and Spitak to find children who [words indistinct] and provide first aid and other help.

[Correspondent] What activities are being carried out in order to supply (?clothing) and [word indistinct] to the disaster areas?

[Muradyan] So far there is no data indicating that infectious diseases are spreading. Of course this could be, but our sanitary and technical services in the republic are adopting all concrete measures in order to prevent the development and spread of [words indistinct]. The weather is also contributing to this; it is very cold there, and this acts (?as a deterrent) to the spread of infections. [Words indistinct] that will prevent the development of (?disease).

'Provocateurs' Urge People To Remain

LD1212211588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee commission in Armenia is working with full intensity. Today another operational working planning meeting took place to which the leaders of union ministries and departments and the republic's leaders were invited. Local reports were heard. In Leninakan on the fifth day 64 more people were freed from under the rubble. The total number of lives saved here comes to 5,398. Many had serious injuries and were sent to Yerevan hospitals.

Feeding the people left without roofs over their heads is the second most important concern. This morning it was reported from Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan that the bottlenecks of foodstuffs have ended. The situation with accommodation is less favorable. Snow and below-zero temperatures are expected in the foothills, while by no means everyone has been provided with tents. But in the morning good news came from Zvartnots airport—1,000 tents had been received for the inhabitants of Spitak. It was decided to leave only men for restoration work on the site. They will spend the winter in heated trailers. Women with children and old people are preparing to leave. And not at all for Krasnoyarsk Kray, like certain orators—who do not stop even in this time of nationwide tragedy—prophesy, but for Krasnodar Kray and for Georgia and the Crimea. The children are not going there alone, but in the majority of cases with their mothers and teachers.

A general city rally took place in Kirovakan. Provocateurs persuading people not to leave the city did not succeed in forcing their way onto the rostrum. The only correct decision was adopted—all men are staying behind; the children with their mothers and the old people are leaving.

Heavy cranes without which one cannot manage the dismantling of large-slab apartment blocks are starting to come from various places into the towns which have suffered. Preparations are being made to dispatch from Austria aboard a Ruslan (NTE) aircraft two giant cranes with a carrying capacity of 60 tonnes. The detachments of rescue workers are working particularly selflessly. Concrete instructions were given at the planning meeting to various departments. Members of the commission severely called to account leaders through whose fault the normalization of communications and the supply of power is being held up. Particular attention was drawn to the fact that despite delays work had begun to eliminate the consequences of the elements in rural localities.

Today Comrades Ryzhkov and Slyunkov visited rural regions of Armenia in the zone of the natural calamity, with the aim of strengthening rescue work there. In Akhuryansk, Spitak, and Gukarskiy rayons they familiarized themselves with the scale of destruction. Fifteen rural rayons in the republic with a population of 500,000 have been hard hit by the disaster. Twenty-eight populated areas have been fully destroyed.

In conversations with collective farm workers, workers and inhabitants of villages, and party and economic leaders, Comrades Ryzhkov and Slyunkov took an interest in the state of affairs and gave concrete instructions. Urgent measures have been undertaken to increase sharply the work pace in villages which have been destroyed by nature. In particular, 43 large mechanized detachments are being sent here, equipped with all essentials. Tents, foodstuffs, clothing, and other items of prime necessity are being sent.

This evening at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists took place.

Further Reportage on Earthquake Damage

NC1312083388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 13 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers reported in detail today on the measures taken in Azerbaijan to resettle the refugees from Armenian and meet their most essential needs.

The newspapers also published the information released by the special commission that has been set up to determine the extent of the damage caused by the earthquake in Azerbaijan's Kazakhly Rayon. According to the information, there has been significant damage in Kemerli, Kaymaglu, Tashly, [two names indistinct] towns and in a number of other residential areas.

The commission has established that the earthquake damaged 734 buildings and destroyed tens of houses.

Meanwhile, the newspapers have published many reports on the relief aid sent by work collectives to the earthquake victims.

The dispatch of large amounts of technical equipment, construction materials, fuel, and tea from Baku and other cities in the republic to the Armenian rayons which have suffered from the earthquake is continuing.

Damage Study in Kazakh Rayon

LD1212192388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Kazakh—The special commission to establish the results of the earthquake has basically finalized the damage suffered in Kazakh Rayon. Kemerli, Kaymakhly, (Tatly), Dzhafarli, and [name indistinct] villages located near the border with Armenia in the Minor Caucasus mountain range, and a number of other residential areas, have suffered a great deal of damage. The commission has established that a total of 735 buildings were partly destroyed; In some houses walls and ceilings had collapsed; 4 schools, 13 animal husbandry firms, and a number of government buildings were cracked or partly destroyed. Steps are being taken to assist those who have suffered losses in the rayon. The (?remains) of houses which had collapsed have been cleared. Loans are being given to their owners for the repair or restoration of apartments. Construction materials are being brought to the rayon and trade in the most necessary goods is beginning.

Steps have been taken to resume studies in schools which have been damaged by the earthquake. The rayon state insurance organization has identified all the people whose homes and properties have suffered the most damage and the people who must receive insurance compensation.

Kirovakan Damage, Relief Shown

LD1212190088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 12 December, in its "Vremya" program, carries a video report by Ye. Orlov on the devastation in Kirovakan. Over video showing piles of rubble on which groups of people are standing or working with their hands or with spades while two large mobile cranes pull blocks of concrete onto the debris below, the correspondent says:

"This is Kirovakan, one of the Armenaian towns affected by the earthquake. It's a town of more than 170,000 inhabitants. Almost 60 percent of the housing has been destroyed. Virtually all industrial enterprises have been damaged; not one of them is currently operating. Some people have died and thousands have been injured."

A temporary telegraph office has been set up on a street in the town center, says Orlov, "Survivors can send news to their close ones, relatives, and friends."

Orlov notes that volunteers from Georgia and Azerbaijan have been working with the Armenian teams today. He states that efforts to clear the ruins continue day and night. He says that firemen, stonemasons, and drivers have been working constantly for the past several days but notes that a shortage of specialists and engineers capable of organizing the work more economically and efficiently still remains. He notes that apparatuses capable of cutting metal and breaking concrete are vital.

Orlov reports that after the earthquake a commission from the USSR Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry arrived in Kirovakan, headed by Minister Nikolay Aleksandrovich Panichev. The video shows a recorded piece on Panichev's remarks on the disaster saying that everything possible must be done to save the people affected by the earthquake.

Orlov comments on the food supply in Kirovakan, saying that fresh bread is being distributed free of charge.

The video shows a sports hall lined with beds. Orlov reports: "The town's Palace of Sport has turned into a kind of field hospital now. Operating tents have been erected in the center of the arena. Experienced surgeons from Yerevan, Astrakhan, Moscow, and many of the union republics are working here. As you can see, a number of beds are empty. The seriously wounded have been given preliminary assistance and then dispatched to hospitals throughout the country by airplane."

"A tent city has been set up in one of the squares, but not everyone has been able to find such an essential temporary shelter. There are not enough tents."

Orlov then concludes his report by saying that much has been done and continues to be done, and that the people of Kirovakan understand this. A man takes Orlov's microphone and expressed his thanks to everyone who has offered aid to the victims, saying: "The Armenian people will never forget your help."

Seismologists Begin Studies

PM1212113788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Dec 88 p 4

["Topical Interview" with N.V. Shebalin, chief of the Powerful Earthquakes Laboratory at the USSR Academy of Sciences Order of Lenin Yu.A. Shmidt Geophysics Institute, by L. Kruglov: "Will the Elements Strike Again?"; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] An expedition of seismologists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Order of Lenin Yu.A. Shmidt Geophysics Institute has urgently made its way to the area of the earthquake's epicenter. Just before the specialists left, our correspondent visited the institute and interviewed N.V. Shebalin, chief of the Powerful Earthquakes Laboratory.

In total, our conversation did not even run 15 minutes, but it did take quite a long time to complete. The telephone kept ringing all the time. Power industry workers, construction industry workers, hydrologists, health services officials, and party, soviet, and economic leaders from all over the country wanted to know the answer to what is probably the main question: Are the underground tremors likely to be repeated, and if so what is their strength likely to be? By the time I met him, Nikolay Vissarionovich had not slept in over 24 hours. The program for the upcoming scientific research was being finalized, the expedition's equipment was being urgently collected, the route was being determined. At the same time, the professor was giving information to foreign correspondents. Everyone was concerned and shaken by the calamity which has struck Armenia and wanted to know details. We carried our conversation during the brief intervals between.

[Kruglov] Nikolay Vissarionovich, what is the basic objective of the expedition?

[Shebalin] There are three basic objectives, and they all revolve around a scientific evaluation of the earthquake which has occurred and which was registered by many seismology stations around the world, including the "Moskva" Central Seismology Station located in the very heart of the capital, close to the Tretyakov Gallery.

First, it is necessary to study with the utmost thoroughness and accuracy the physical processes which occurred in the earth's crust at the epicenter, the central point of the main tremor registered at 10:41:20 hours on 7 December. Essentially, the effect of the underground storm spread throughout northern Armenia. What occurred was a tectonic heave of the slopes of Bazumskiy Ridge, which is the northwest branch of the Anatolian Fault which itself lies in Turkish territory.

Second, it is necessary to obtain recordings of the most powerful earth movements. This data is needed for our future earthquake-proof construction work. It is an open secret that the destruction resulting in loss of human life is often due to the fact that buildings are constructed without taking the area's seismic features into account. Our laboratory has done work of this sort on many occasions. We registered the extremely powerful earthquake in Gazli, Uzbekistan, which occurred on 17 May 1976. At that time we obtained a most valuable seismogram of a Force 9 tremor. Furthermore, over the years our collective has studied powerful earthquakes in Dagestan, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, Turkmenia, and Moldavia.

Third, the studies we will conduct will represent yet another important step along the path of developing a methodology for evaluating the behavior of the latest earthquake's center. This is the question which worries people, especially in densely populated regions: What can be done, what is to be expected? If there are no further tremors, construction can be carried out with due consideration for the established level of seismic activity or, on the other hand, preparations must be made for the next onslaught by the underground elements. The methodology of forecasting earthquakes is a most urgent national economic task.

[Kruglov] How is an earthquake's force evaluated?

[Shebalin] It is well known from practice that repeated but gradually diminishing tremors of the earth's crust occur in 15-20 percent of cases when very powerful tremors are registered. Seismic stations are, as a rule, urgently established at the epicenters. They actually register the repeat tremors. Now we are taking accurate and precise apparatus to Armenia. It will register tremors of various force—from the weakest to the strongest shockwaves. We would, of course, like to have the best possible equipment. These data will make it possible to draw conclusions about the region's seismological condition.

Any subsequent tremor, which the scientists call an "aftershock," yields important scientific information on the development of a tectonic fault or breaks in rock deposits at the center of the earthquake. It is necessary to be very vigilant in this "interval" to avoid being caught unawares. Vigilance is especially necessary in Spitak, Leninakan, and Stepanavan.

On this occasion the depth of the center bed was around 20-30 km from the surface. This is the most powerful earthquake in the Transcaucasus since the 1902 earthquake in Shemakha, on the territory of today's Azerbaijan. The force at its center was 6.8-7.0 units on the Richter scale, whereas the force of the shockwaves at the surface around Leninakan evidently registered around 9 points on the 12-point seismic scale. According to our estimates, there is no reason to expect any stronger tremors at the epicenter of the latest natural calamity. There is a likelihood of repeat shocks, but of diminishing force.

Inadequate Building Materials Noted

NC0812115388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has discussed the measures required for further improving the production of construction materials in the republic.

The decision that was adopted on the matter earlier, which was approved by one of the recent Azerbaijan Comunist Party Central Committee plenums, said that regardless of the recent increase in the production of construction materials and products, the demand in the republic's economic domain were not being met. [Words indistinct] in a number of rayons and the quality of many of the materials and products do not meet contemporary demands. The technical level in the field is inadmissibly low.

A significant [word indistinct] of cadres exists in many establishments as a result of the unsatisfactory way of providing houses, [word indistinct] establishments, and livelihood services installations for the workers. [passage indistinct].

Taking the view that further improving the construction materials industry and upgrading its technical level is essential, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has instructed the Azerbaijan SSR State Planning Committee, State Construction Committee, State Committee for the Agro-industrial Complex, a number of pertinent ministries and main administrations, soviet organs, and collectives affiliated with the construction organizations and construction materials industry establishments to regard the question of securing the improvement of the production of construction materials and products and upgrading the technical level of these products in as short a time as possible as the most important task.

The complex of measures which will be implemented from 1988 to 1995 should create an opportunity to align the development of the production of construction materials and products with the volume of the main construction work and demands in other economic domains.

Moscow Churches Commemorate Earthquake Victims

LD1212193988 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—Services in memory of those killed by the devastating earthquake in Armenia were performed in all temples of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow.

Prior of the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany, Matfey Stadnyuk told a TASS correspondent: "With the blessing of Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia, the service in our cathedral was performed by Metropolitan Vladimir of Moscow and Novocherkassk, administrator of the Moscow Patriarchate, exarch to Western Europe. His speech before the service for the dead reflected the sorrow and compassion which filled the hearts of all believers and all Soviet people".

The service was attended by a large congregation and other residents of Moscow who often visit the cathedral. Following the service the monetary donations were collected. The prior of the cathedral said that 10,000 roubles has already been donated by the temple to the fund for the relief to quake victims, and that fund raising continues.

Responding to the call of Patriarch Pimen who addressed on December 9 all believers with the request to give relief to those affected by the quake, parishioners contribute donations in all churches of Moscow.

Further on National, Republican Rescue Efforts

Greater Organization of Work Noted

LD1312070688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The 6th day of rescue work in the areas hit by the natural disaster is underway. Our correspondents, Yuriy Korotkov and Khuryun Khomaryan, report by phone from Yerevan:

[Khomaryan] Well, I think I'll begin with Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport. I was there all evening yesterday with Yuriy Korotkov, and the airport was working at maximum capacity. Heavy vehicles from the civil aviation and the Air Force are landing literally every 5 minutes. Students, servicemen, and workers from adjacent enterprises have been mobilized to unload them. Medical apparatus, preparations, lifting devices, and special detachments of rescue-workers are all going on in a steady stream. However, when you get to the disaster area, you can see that all this is not yet enough. People are in Leninakan are literally snatching the cranes that come in from Yerevan from one another. I do understand them. There under the rubble remain their children, relatives, and friends. The field telephone at the headquarters of the Spitak Raykom is literally being over-strained. Cranes are needed, dump-trucks are needed, mobile electricity stations are needed, tents are needed. Not the large ones the field hospitals have, and the first aid post, but small ones, for one, two, or three families. After all, people don't leave the ruins of their houses, day or night. And how could you abandon it when your family's there? Or go away until you've raked away all those heaps down to the very last stone? It is particularly difficult to work with the onset of darkness. The ruins have to be lit up by car lights or just by fires. Every minute is precious because every minute takes away human lives.

[Korotkov] I'd like to add: We were in the stricken areas immediately after the earthquake and later, the last time being yesterday. And I noticed, sensed, greater organization of the work. People have, it seems, recovered from a state of shock and are working with unprecedented persistence, indefatigably. Many thanks to our doctors. In an extreme situation, they are doing everything possible and impossible too. I have seen the most complex surgical operations carried out amidst the ruins of the houses. There's no other way. Otherwise, you won't even get those who suffered as far as the nearest airport. There has been a total of more than 2,000 operations.

A good deal of blood has come to the rescue from all over the country. There is so much of it, the USSR Minister of Health, Comrade Chazov has asked for no more blood to be delivered. In the disaster areas, in field conditions, there are 220 itinerant doctors teams. Their skillful work was noted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in an interview before flying out of Yerevan. Also acting skillfully are the large groups from the Ministry of Railways, the country's Civil Aviation Administration, Gossnab and many public organizations, the AUCCTU, the Central Committee of the Komsomol, DOSAAF, the All-Union Lenin Children's Fund, the Union of Red Cross and Crescent Societies.

Every hour more and more truck-mounted cranes, bulldozers, dump-trucks, private cars, and various machines and mechanisms are being transferred to the stricken regions. This increasing help was noted by Nikolay Ivanovch Ryzhkov, head of the Commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at a press conference held last night in Yerevan.

Republican, Global Aid Continues

LD1212132088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] In Armenia, the elimination of the consequences of the disastrous earthquake continues. The main effort has been concentrated on clearing the obstructions and rescuing the victims as quickly as possible. The government commission is working around the clock. Aid is reaching Armenia from all the republics. About 40 civil and military aircraft are operating an airlift between the Ukraine and Armenia. They have already delivered to Leninakan some 50 powerful cranes, urgently needed to clear rubble.

Today the production association ZIL in Moscow is sending to Armenia a convoy of 25 trucks carrying essential supplies. Reports are coming in from everywhere of people's willingness to take in Armenian families who have suffered in the disaster and provide them with housing and employment.

Aid for the victims of the devastating earthquake continues to come from abroad. Another group of French experts is on its way to Soviet Armenia to help with rescue work in the quake zone. The group comprises 60 people, including 15 doctors. The special flight will also deliver about 20 tonnes of equipment. Two new Swedish transport planes carrying rescue teams and needed equipment will fly to the Soviet Union today in accordance with a decision made at a special session of the Swedish Government on Sunday night. On Sunday evening a plane left Washington for the USSR with special ultrasonic instruments for locating people under rubble. These have been made available by a number of U.S. radio-technical companies.

IZVESTIYA Roundup on Efforts

PM1212200088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Roundup of special correspondents' and unattributed reports on Armenian earthquake aftermath: "Lessons in Mercy"]

[Excerpts] [Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, A. Protsenko, and S. Taranov] Yerevan, 12 Dec—[Passage omitted] There are already more than 6,000 victims in the hospitals of Armenia, especially Yerevan, today. The doctors are doing everything possible to save the lives of even the seemingly absolutely hopeless cases. More than 2,600 highly complex operations have been carried out. But by noon on 12 December 200 people had died in Yerevan's clinics....

Death continues its terrible harvest. After our own Il-76 military transport plane, in which 78 people died, this morning a Yugoslav aircraft, also on its way to give help, crashed 12 km from Yerevan. The crew of seven were killed.

This tragic news was flashed around Armenia and caused a new wave of grief: Our brothers were hurrying to our assistance, and they themselves were killed. Every Armenian, every Soviet person bows his head low to the memory of the new victims of the tragedy.

How could these losses happen? Because the air above Armenia is as crowded as the land. At times dozens of aircraft are in the air, waiting their turn to land. The weather has deteriorated sharply. It snowed in Spitak last night, and in Leninakan it rained.

This has severely exacerbated the already difficult situation. But in the last 24 hours alone another 64 survivors were brought out from the ruins in Leninakan, and 20 in Spitak. How many more will be saved? No one knows. It is calculated that at the time of the earthquake in Spitak alone there were at least 16,000 people in schools and hospitals and at enterprises, in short, under roofs that proved treacherously unsafe. Let us remember that just over 20,000 people lived in this little rayon center in all. The devastation is great in the countryside too. As yet only 6,000 people have been evacuated from Spitakskiy Rayon, whose population totaled 50,000. Mainly, of course, these are the injured, old people, children, and women. [passage omitted]

On Monday morning N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, addressed the participants in an operations conference at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Leaders of many union ministries and departments and, of course, the Armenian SSR were present. They discussed the progress of rescue operations and today's most urgent matters. And—although colossal work is being done—regrettable facts emerged. The representative of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work does not know where to send the heavy cranes that have been made available to him, and sends them to the wrong places. One local leader who is responsible for the safe keeping of jewelry and other valuables in the affected regions has not yet organized the work of shipping them out. Why not? "We were only told yesterday that they had to be shipped out"...

In some places people are not receiving the most basic essentials. In some places the elementary removal of refuse has not been organized, in some places the law enforcement organs are not allowing the dead to be buried, insisting on the observance of cumbersome procedural details as if they did not understand the dangers of delay...

Of course, people are exhausted, this is the first time they have experienced anything like this, there are bound to be blunders, all that is true... But how long will we go on waiting for someone to give us instructions, even in the direst emergencies? Is even an earthquake not enough to awaken our capacity to think for ourselves and take unconventional decisions?

We are deliberately refraining from naming here the leaders who were subjected to sharp criticism at the conference. After all, the point is not to give someone another "dressing down." But it is time to shake off the numbness of the first days, overcome the shock, and begin to work in an organized manner, coolly. The vast majority are doing precisely this. What is needed is for everyone to do so.

...Armand Hammer flew into Yerevan yesterday. He brought a cheque for a million dollars and—something even more important today—a "Boeing" full of medical equipment and drugs. The whole world—in the literal sense—the countries and peoples of the globe are helping Armenia to cope with its troubles. D. Venediktov, chairman of the USSR Red Cross Societies Executive Committee, has been here since the first day. A. Kiselev, deputy general secretary of the International Red Cross League, flew to Yerevan from Geneva on 8 December.

"A direct link with Geneva was established today," Andrey Konstantinovich tells us. "Our requests to dozens of other countries go there. No, it is not a plea for help, it is rather an attempt to coordinate and organize the spontaneous explosion of charity. Now, for instance, we need not simply blankets, but heated winter tents, not just any medical equipment and drugs, but mainly those that help with severe traumas. We have just issued a request for children's clothing—we want to provide 100,000 Armenian children with clothing for every season. We have also ordered 3 mobile field hospitals, 20 diesel generators, sets of radio equipment with a radius of 130 km, telescopic cranes... This is the first time the USSR has accepted such large-scale, diverse aid from abroad. More than ever before we have come to feel what worldwide solidarity means."

...And may this tremendous assistance from the whole country and the whole world be used sensibly and with maximum benefit. [Yerevan dispatch ends]

From the Latest Reports

[Unattributed report] USSR Ministry of Health: G. Onishchenko, deputy chief of the Main Epidemiological Administration, in connection with the possible outbreak of an epidemic in the disaster areas, said:

"The potential threat remains, but the preventive measures that have been adopted give us reason to think that there will be no outbreak. I am basing this on a realistic prediction. Then you have to remember that it is not a question of an epidemic of plague or typhus, but of a possible outbreak of intestinal infections. But nutrition and water supplies are being monitored and other sanitary supervision measures are being taken.

"Many people may wonder: Why is there a danger of an epidemic after an earthquake? The point is that the traditional structure of man's environment is disrupted, drastically and for the worse. In this case 500,000 people have lost blood and are living in tents, in field conditions. In this situation we medics usually give 7 days as the most likely period for the infection to appear if there has been a mass infection."

Ministry of Railways: The main work of delivering the freight being sent to Armenia from all over the country has fallen on the railmen's shoulders.

"On Saturday we dispatched 4,260 freightcars, and about the same number on Sunday," First Deputy Minister G. Fadeyev says. "Shipments have increased almost eightfold compared with before the earthquake. At present 163 trains are on the move, on their way to the disaster area. Naturally, it is physically impossible to accept and process such a vast quantity of freight in a short time. But the situation demands speedy unloading. Therefore it has been decided to build an additional 30 km of railroad tracks in the region of Leninakan station. This involves all kinds of sidings, platforms, and spur lines. All this will be done in the near future by servicemen, railmen, and construction workers.

"Efficiency in organizing shipments is paramount. Our headquarters and control room, which are working around the clock, have set up a link with the Gossnab. From there we receive information on priority loads being sent from a particular city. Special teams sort the freight on the approaches to Armenia. Fuel, motorized tractor equipment, housing, and food are dispatched first.

"Movement on the main Tbilisi-Yerevan line will be restored by 15 December. In some places 70,000 cubic meters of rubble is blocking the track bed. Individual boulders weigh 20 or 30 tonnes."

Air Force: Lieutenant General of Aviation V. Yefanov, commander of Air Force military transport aviation, tells us about the circumstances of the loss of the IL-76 plane:

"The disaster took place 15 km from Leninakan airport, where the IL-76 flight, which started from Baku, was heading. On board were 70 civil defense officers and men. There was a crew of nine, commanded by Captain N. Blilev: Senior Lieutenant I. Razumnyy, Captain I. Sokolov, Captain V. Plashkin, Senior Lieutenant S. Ivlev, Ensigns I. Shcherkov and A. Rybalchenko, Major I. Avilov, Captain A. Altukhov...

"A special commission is investigating the circumstances of the crash. At the moment the following can be said reliably. At 0622 hours Moscow time, while making a turn, the plane hit the ground. Dawn is at 0645 in that locality. Night is no obstacle to flights, but because of the extraordinary circumstances in the disaster area the city and its suburbs are not illuminated. Aircraft are approaching Leninakan and landing literally one after another. The airport, which is at an altitude of 1,524 meters above sea level, is overloaded. The mountains complicate the conditions for flying close to the ground."

[Unidentified questioner] "Have restrictions on flights been lifted or relaxed because of the emergency situation?"

[Yefanov] "No, the ordinary restrictions that are customary in the Air Force concerning weather and visibility are in force... "

Moscow Radio on Situation

LD1212213888 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 12 December broadcasts a roundup of reports on how the situation in Armenia following the earthquake is being dealt with. The program begins with presenter Aleksandr Zhetvin speaking on the telephone with RSFSR Minister of Health Anatoliy Ivanovich Potapov. The minister is asked how those injured in the earthquake are being accommodated. Potapov says:

"We have just had a meeting of the operational headquarters and we reviewed the outcome of today's work. The injured have started to arrive in Moscow from Armenia. Reception of the casualties at the airport has been organized by the Moscow city ambulance service. Sorting is being done by teams of qualified specialists from the Central Traumatology (?Service). A total of 196 patients have been hospitalized in Moscow, including 33 children in grave condition. The injuries include crush syndrome, breakage of the spinal column and extremities, incipient gangrene, and acute kidney deficiency. It should be specially noted that all the casualties have been given reanimation traumatological aid. The children have been given dialysis."

Potapov goes on to say that patients are being operated on, and all the leading specialists of Moscow's scientific establishments are taking part in this help to children. He says special mention should be made of the personnel from the Faculty of Children's Surgery at Moscow Medical Institute No 2. The condition of the adult patients is also grave, he continues. Half of them reqire dialysis, for which we today installed additional kidney machines brought from Leningrad. Some of the patients require amputation of extremities, and some are psychologically disturbed. Today, Potapov says, we have deployed additional beds for dialysis in treatment centers of Moscow, Kalinin, Tula, Vladimir, and other oblasts.

Zhetvin then asks Potapov if there are any other Headquarters operating, apart from the main one which is working round-the-clock. Potapov replies that there are headquarters in all the areas where help is being given.

Zhetvin then says that some people are trying to stir up trouble at this difficult time by spreading rumors that patients are being specially taken from Armenia to be left in Russia. Potapov says that luckily there are no such extremists among the doctors, who are all doing their duty; there are enough beds—there are 2,000 beds ready in Stavropol and Krasnodar Krays, he says.

Zhetvin then goes on to say that news has just come in that the tourist authorities and trade union are doing their bit to help the quake victims. So far, about 12,000 places have been made available in Georgia, Krasnodar Kray, and other places, and 185 seasoned rescue workers have been sent from the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus with special equipment and trained dogs.

Zhetvin concludes the program by speaking on the telephone to the international sector of the Central Control Office of the Ministry of Civil Aviation, the department which deals with planes from abroad. Duty controller Valentin Ivanovich Plekhanov says between 9 and 11 December there were over 40 flights of foreign planes. More than 22 flights to Yerevan are planned, he says, and today there were 12 flights. Today, flights are planned from Britain, the FRG, Poland, Bulgaria, France, Israel, and Cuba. Plekhanov says they will be carrying rescuers, trained dogs, medicines, tents, blankets, equipment, and people who are trained to find people in ruins. The procedure for the flights was simplified from the start, he says, and permission to fly into the USSR has also been simplified. This used to take several days or weeks, he notes, but the decision was taken jointly with the Foreign Ministry to simplify the procedure which now takes several hours. The request comes in, it is examined and coordinated with Yerevan, and permission is given immediately.

Azerbaijan Party Decision on Aid

LD1212125988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Excerpt] The people of Azerbaijan heartily share the grief of fraternal Armenia. Many letters and telegrams received from work collectives, public organizations, and individual citizens express profound grief and condolences. The republic immediately has appropriated the grief of its neighbors. In Baku, Dzhalilabad, Mingechaur, and in other towns and rayons people have participated actively in showing comprehensive assistance to Armenia.

A decision of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee concerning the earthquake in the Armenian SSR directs the activity and the (?concept). At present in order to meet the needs of those who have suffered losses, [word indistinct], medicine, clothing, foodstuffs, and other (?items) are being sent. Teams consisting of experts have been set up to work directly in the rayons that were subject to disaster and have been sent to those places. Places have been reserved in sanatoria and polyclinics to receive the injured. [passage omitted]

Officials Discuss Tasks

NC0912161188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] On the basis of a mutual agreement between the Azerbaijan and Armenian party and soviet organs, a meeting was held in Ilich Rayon between Geydar Isayev, first secretary of Nakhichevan Obkom and the first secretaries of Masisskiy, (?Akdashot), and Araratskiy Raykoms.

The report that was published in the press in connection with the meeting said that the problems concerning the return of the refugees to their places of birth and the question of providing them with normal work and living conditions were discussed during the talks, which were held in a sincere and businesslike atmosphere.

Also discussed were matters concerning the help the workers of the autonomous republic can give to the people who suffered from tremors in neighboring rayons in Armenian as called for by the tasks included in the decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with the earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

Meanwhile, talks also were held between the Nakhichevan Obkom Bureau members and the first secretaries of the [name indistinct] and (?Nevre) Raykoms in the Armenian SSR.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Meeting

LD1212211688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Interaction between party, local soviet, and law-and-order bodies is being established in neighboring border regions of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Some of the first to organize a meeting were representatives of Krasnoselskiy Rayon, in Armenia, and Kedabekskiy and Shamkhorskiy Rayons, in Azerbaijan. They are situated in the immediate vicinity of the epicenter of the earthquake. Questions of the return of settlers to their own areas and the creation of normal labor and everyday living conditions for them were examined at the meeting. The reasons for the emergence of various kinds of rumors and panic moods were analyzed. Specific measures to eliminate conflict situations which had arisen were drafted. Statements by inhabitants about the unauthorized occupation of houses and theft of private property are being investigated.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted for cases of pilfering. Ways to render material and medical aid to people who have left their places of permanent residence have been determined.

Air Force Official on Aid Transport

LD1212180788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Interview with Vladimir Trofimovich Danilchenko, deputy chief of the Air Force Central Command Post, by Aleksandr Nikitovich Zhetvin over the telephone—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zhetvin] Now, comrades, we have Colonel Vladimir Trofimovich Danilchenko, deputy chief of the Air Force Central Command Post, on the phone. Vladimir Trofimovich?

[Danilchenko] Yes, Aleksandr Nikitovich. Allow me...

[Zhetvin, interrupting] Can you hear me? Could we have today's information?

[Danilchenko] The soldiers of the Armed Forces, just like the entire Soviet people, including the Air Force, are taking this tragedy hard and have responded to our leadership's call for offering assistance to the people in Armenia. Today, in accordance with the plan, more than 115 aircraft of the military transport aviation are carrying out their tasks. Air Force pilots must carry out their tasks both day and night.

[Zhetvin] Vladimir Trofimovich, what is the principal cargo?

[Danilchenko] Right now we are transporting cranes. We believe that is the principal item needed in these conditions; cranes are needed to clear the collapsed buildings. Seventy-nine aircraft have fulfilled this task for today. More than 40 cranes have been delivered to Yerevan today alone, 23 cranes have been delivered to Leninakan, and aircraft are continuing flights to those points.

[Zhetvin] Do you have any orders for tomorrow?

[Danilchenko] Tomorrow we plan to use more than 120 aircraft. The cargo will be the same: cranes and tents from all over the Soviet Union. The cargo...

[Zhetvin, interrupting] Vladimir Trofimovich, excuse me, you are not just delivering such important cargo in the situation as cranes, but presumably you are also evacuating injured people?

[Danilchenko] Naturally. So far we have evacuated more than 1500 civilians. We have also transported 7000 men into Armenia to render assistance...

[Zhetvin, interrupting] I see.

[Danilchenko] We are transporting large quantities of medicines, a mobile hospital, and other technical equipment. Apart from that we have flown in two power generating stations and now under the plan we are to transport three power generating stations there to provide assistance for the population and to support the work of the people who have been sent to Yerevan.

[Zhetvin] That, comrades, was a report from Col Vladimir Trofimovich Danilchenko, deputy chief of the Air Force Central Command Post. Vladimir Trofimovich, thank you for your information.

Railways Official on Transport

LD1212184788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 12 December carries a live or recorded 10-minute telephone report by Vladimir Mikhaylenko from the Ministry of Railways special headquarters for aid to Armenia. He says that the headquarters is bustling with activity with goods constantly being loaded for rail dispatch to the north Caucasus by special trains.

Mikhaylenko then interviews Gennadiy Martynovich Korenko, deputy minister of railways, who says that on 10 December 4,260 railway cars were loaded and on 11 December 3,760 cars were loaded. Comparison with the normal 600-650 cars per day shows how much effort is being made.

Korenko says that when all these cars reach Armenia there will be a traffic problem as they all queue up for unloading. To help alleviate this, there will be increased use of single-tracked lines. The latest locomotives, capable of pulling more than 1,000 tonnes, will be used.

The deputy minister goes on that to alleviate the problem of traffic jams at stations, the ministry has decided to build an additional 30 km of railroad sidings over the next 10 to 15 days in order to hold the cars being unloaded. This will be necessary also for the huge rebuilding program, which will require vast railroad capacity.

Although the most urgent freight is being flown to Armenia, Deputy Minister Korenko says, the railways are still taking some very important goods there, such as heavy construction machinery and fuel.

Troops Join Aid Effort

LD1212155688 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—More than 12,000 officers and men and some 18 thousand men in units of civil defence participate in the rescue effort to eliminate the aftermath of the quake in Armenia, a TASS correspondent was told at the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces today.

Alongside the personnel of the Transcaucasian Military District, soldiers of a number of other military districts participate in rescue and rehabilitation operations. Over 2,000 units of various roadbuilding and other equipment are used.

Work to clear debris, rebuild roads, evacuate the population and give it all-round assistance continued in the disaster area in the past day. 102 people trapped by debris were rescued by soldiers on December 11, and 214 bodies were pulled out from under rubble. Altogether 18.5 thousand people were pooled out from debris in the past four days.

Units of civil defences rescued 40 people and pooled out 70 bodies from ruins on December 11. Altogether, during the rescue effort units of civil defence rescued 13.5 thousand people and pulled 8,100 bodies trapped by debris.

From December 7 medical personnel of the Transcaucasian Military District gave medical aid to 5,700 victims of the quake. The biggest part of them were evacuated to medical institutions of the USSR Health Ministry and to hospitals of the Transcaucasian Military district.

More than 700 field kitchens were set up and are functioning in the disaster area. Eight bakeries provide bread for servicemen and local population (over 40 tons of bread is baked daily).

Up to 15 km of roads was cleared on December 11. As many as 12 passages were dug out the rubble. Units of railwaymen cleared 1.5 km of road at Nabaldyan Station. Nine roadblocks out of 19 were removed on Nabaldyan-Spitak stretch. As many as 38 trainloads of cargoes were discharged.

Five mechanised regiments of civil defence arrive in Kirovakan and Leninakan today and tomorrow. Three bath and laundry trains will later arrive in Kirovakan, Leninakan and Baladzhary.

On December 11 aircraft of the military transport aviation delivered to Armenia 34 cranes, nine excavators, eight tractors, 906 tents, eight tons of medicines, 24 tons of food. As many as 71 truck-mounted cranes have not been delivered to the point of destination as the airports of Yerevan and Leninakan are extremely busy, and also because of unfavourable metrological conditions.

Soldiers spare no efforts to rescue those who are still alive and to bring life back to normal in the disaster area.

Leninakan Center Coordinates Efforts

LD1212163188 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Leninakan (Soviet Armenia) December 12 TASS—Special TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov reports:

"We shall work without a let-up to save everyone still alive under the debris, even on the tenth and the twelfth day after the disaster. We shall work for as long as there is a chance to save the life of at least one unhappy victim," Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said speaking at a meeting of the operational headquarters for the liquidation of the consequences of the natural disaster in Leninakan. The ravaging earthquake which last Wednesday sent its deadly tremors across the north of Armenia, destroyed four fifths of this second largest city in the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic, and buried under the piles of debris many of its residents.

Today, on the sixth day after the disaster struck, nobody can give the accurate figure of the losses: for the rescue workers are all the time taking to the surface both the wounded, and those in a deep state of shock, and those who emerged unscathed but have already been given up for lost. Hopeful news is trasmitted by people to one another: Already over 5 thousand men, women, old men and children have been rescued from the piles of rubble.

People wander among the debris of what used to be their homes, straining their ear in the hope of hearing the voice of a missing sister, father, brother or simply any human voice. Even a feeble moan from beneath the debris sends the volunteer rescue workers to dig and search with redoubled energy. The volunteers have come from many cities and villages of Armenia and from Russia, Belorussia and other Soviet republic's which have come to the rescue of the Armenian people. Transport planes and helicopters carrying cranes, bulldozers and heavy duty trucks, hurry to Leninakan from all corners of the USSR. From the moment the disaster struck, the local airfield was able to receive over a thousand of airliners which have brought machines, food, tents from all over the country.

Thanks to the efforts of the coordinating headquarters, the originally uncoordinated actions of the rescue teams are now acquiring an organizational order. Areas of the greatest destruction have been identified where many human casualties and fatalities are possible—such as the textile mills, the spinning factory and the department stores. Operating here are units of experienced mountaineer rescue workers equipped with the necessary machinery for extreme situations. Scores of field kitchens are deployed in the streets, cooking hot food. First aid centres have also been deployed here, which distribute free warm clothes and other things of primary necessity. Traffic lights and street lamps have been switched on in the streets, with electricity supplied by mobile electric power plants. Strings of trucks with portable water tanks mounted on them stand along the highway.

It is still a time for grief and tears: sirens of the ambulances haul, firefighting trucks rush through the smoke and soot enveloping Leninakan. But the restoration of the city has already got underway—an arduous and painstaking work which will take many months and even years.

Ukraine, Belorussia Offer Help

LD1212192488 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—After the disaster in Armenia, all Soviet republics continue the effort to help those affected by the quake.

The working people of the Ukraine voluntarily contribute their earnings for one or two days to the fund of relief to the quake victims. Over 3.3 thousand workers and specialists left for the disaster area. Over 600 hoisting and earth-moving machines and automobiles were shipped for Armenia. Another 100 units of equipment are ready to be shipped. Medicines and blood transfusion systems are loaded onto planes and trains.

The relief effort continues in Belorussia. People are streaming to donate necessities, clothes and funds. Sanatoria and rest homes in Belorussia are prepared to receive victims of the quake. Large sums of money were donated to the relief fund, a TASS correspondent was told by Vladimir Goncharik, chairman of Belorussia's Council of Trade Unions. Funds received from subbotniks and additional shifts on which trade union organizations of Belorussian enterprises decided are to be contributed for the same purpose.

Hundreds of people from Belorussia have already arrived in Armenia and started liquidating the aftermaths of the quake. Another trainload of automobiles, automatic loaders, building materials is on the way to Yerevan from Minsk.

RSFSR's Vlasov Details Aid

PM1212100588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, by unidentified interviewer: "A.V. Vlasov, Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers: All Russia Is Helping"; place, date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] RSFSR working people learned with great anguish the sad news about the unprecedented earthquake in Armenia, which has caused such loss of human life and destruction in cities and villages. The tragedy has shaken our whole people and given rise to feelings of profound sorrow. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers have sent a telegram of condolences to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

At SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's request, A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, described the assistance being given at present:

[Vlasov] A staff headed by F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, has been set up to ensure the efficient solution of all practical questions involved in dealing with the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia and providing assistance to the victims. Similar staffs and groups have been set up in the autonomous republics, in Russia's krays and oblasts, in Moscow and Leningrad, and in the RSFSR ministries and departments. The staffs immediately got down to work. This work is proceeding around the clock. Many offers of assistance are coming in from literally all corners of our republic.

Some 230 physicians flew out from the RSFSR to Armenia on the first night. A further 20 medical teams are standing by to leave. Medicines and equipment have been shipped out. More than 1,000 liters of blood have already been delivered to the affected regions. Some 2,000 beds have been urgently made available in clinics.

[Interviewer] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, before this interview I called at the headquarters set up at the RSFSR Council of Ministers. Its personnel are collecting information from the localities. While I was there they received a telephone call from Kirov: A column of equipment—bulldozers, powerful tractors, mobile cranes, earth movers, and others—is on its way to Kirovakan. The personnel are prepared for two-shift work—fuel, spare parts, food supplies, and field kitchens are all available. Another news report, this one from Vladivostok: They have just shipped out medicines valued at R30,000, while labor collectives have contributed R109,000 to the assistance fund.

[Vlasov] Yes, there are numerous such reports. Those same Kirov people are prepared to accept as many children as can be transported there. The Russian government has allocated R320 million, 15,000 cubic meters of timber, 9,000 tonnes of cement, 1,250 tonnes of piping, and other materials for construction purposes. Equipment is already standing by for shipment in 44 of Russia's autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. As far as the agro-industrial complex is concerned, for example, seven repair and restoration works detachments have been sent directly to Spitakskiy and Gugarkskiy Rayons. Construction and installation work trains are being marshaled.

Some 33 oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics, mainly in central and southern Russia, have prepared to receive 56,000 victims left without a roof over their heads. They will be able to do their own jobs and will be allocated apartments or hostel accommodations. Around 1,500 blocks have been allocated for this purpose in the countryside. Every arriving family will be given a single-payment subsidy of R300 from the budget. I must say that the aid fund has already received R9 million from both labor collectives and citizens. Here is an example: Students from the Blagoveshchensk Agricultural Institute transferred R8,000 from the social grants fund, while students from the polytechnical college there transferred R300 earned from agricultural work. Working people in many places have already decided to work without pay for 1 day and to pay any money earned thereby into account No 700412 in the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development.

[Interviewer] It appears that a special task has been assigned to RSFSR ministries and departments?

[Vlasov] This was laid down by an RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution. I have already mentioned the construction and installation trains and the repair works teams which have been and are being composed. Segments of these have already set out: 22 flatcars carrying machinery and equipment from the Mari ASSR, 40 equipment units from Rostov Oblast, and other items from elsewhere. A total of 3,200 equipment units have already been shipped out. The Ministry of Motor Transport is dealing with the transportation of freight and passengers, and the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products will be ensuring the uninterrupted supply of fuel for transportation. More than 24,000 tonnes of fuel and lubricants are being allocated. The Ministry of Trade and Consumer Services and the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz are seeking out additional food resources and consumer goods to be shipped to Armenia. Allocations include 3,480 tonnes of produce, as well as industrial goods worth more than R50 million, including 25,000 pairs of footwear and 16,000 items of warm clothing.... Let me note, incidentally, that these figures are rising by the hour....

[Interviewer] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, there were reports that the earthquake had also affected the territory of the Dagestan and Chechen-Ingush ASSR's. Are there any casualties there?

[Vlasov] Fortunately, there was neither loss of life nor major destruction. Buildings in the areas affected by the earthquake are being inspected for preventive purposes.

I would like to emphasize that the entire RSFSR is helping the fraternal Armenian people who have been hit by the destructive force of the elements. Dealing with the aftermath of the earthquake demands high standards of organization, discipline, and awareness of personal responsibility on the part of all who participate in this work.

International Contributions, Efforts Continue

Redman on $2.5 Million U.S. Aid

LD1312071688 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 13 TASS—Charles Redman, a U.S. Department of State spokesman, has described the Armenian earthquake as a tragedy of enormous scope. At his regular meeting with journalists on Monday he told them about U.S. participation in the relief effort. According to Redman, several planes flew to Armenia from the U.S. in the past several days. The aircraft carried a group of experts and emergency supplies collected in the U.S.

Redman pointed out that the President, the vice-president and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz were among those who expressed condolences over the earthquake and made an entry in the book of condolences at the Soviet Embassy. A special group of the Department of State is working jointly with the disaster relief department, the Soviet Government and volunteer organizations.

According to the estimates of the Department of State, overall U.S. aid to those affected by the quake now amounts to 2.47 million dollars, including the government's expenses on three air flights and private donations. Redman said that the relief effort was continuing with the U.S. authorities assessing the victims' requirements. Four groups of Americans of Armenian extraction and seven private organizations are rendering assistance ranging from money donations to the sending of supplies and volunteers.

Armand Hammer Makes Donation

LD1212191088 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 12 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Shvedova and Vladimir Shishlin:

Dozens of planes of foreign airlines these days ask for clearance to land at Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport. Relief for the Armenian people continues streaming from Austria, Uganda, FRG, Israel, and many other countries.

One of the Boeing airliners that landed at the aiport belongs to Armand Hammer, American businessman and public figure. The 90-year old president of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation accompanied a valuable cargo on board the plane. He said there was hardly any sitting room on board the plane as it carried a large load of medicines, up-to-date equipment for blood transfusion and artificial kidney apparatuses.

Interviewed by the TASS correspondents at the Razdan Hotel at which he put up, Armand Hammer said that on learning about the disaster he had sent a letter to Mr. Gorbachev to express sympathies and the wish to help and arrive in Armenia. He was informed via the Soviet Embassy in the USA that Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed his proposal. And so I am here, Armand Hammer said.

Dr. Hammer told the TASS correspondents he had brought to Yerevan many things necessary for urgent medical aid. He showed the list of the contents of the containers drawn up by the American Red Cross with the participation of Professor of Medicine Rosa-Maria Duraso. He said that courageous woman had saved a great number of victims of the earthquake in Mexico City and that she had now also come to Armenia to give aid to victims of the quake and pass on to other medics her experience in this area of medicine.

Dr. Hammer today presented a cheque for one million dollars to Fadei Sarkisyan, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Dr. Hammer said he was glad to be able somehow to ease the lot of the victims. He said that he presented half of the sum on behalf of Bob Saple, president of World Vision Organization.

Dr. Hammer handed over to Fadei Sarkisyan a message from Archbishop of the Armenian Church in the USA Vache Ovsepyan expressing sympathy to those who became homeless, who lost their near and dear.

The head of the Government of the Armenian Republic, on behalf of Armenia's citizens expressed profound gratitude to Armand Hammer for his humane attitude in these days of sorrow. "We especially appreciate the fact that you, a great friend of the Soviet people, came to us abandoning all your affairs", he said.

"We regard this gift not only as a natural human striving to come to the rescue of those in distress", said Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. "This is another good sign of the warming of relations between our countries".

Ever more manifestations of sympathy are made with every hour. Representatives of many countries, all who are capable of feeling sympathy and compassion for others, help Soviet people to heal the wounds inflicted on Armenia by the elements.

Fitzwater on U.S. Aid

LD1312092588 Moscow TASS in English 0726 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 13 TASS—Alan Woods, director of the Agency for International Development, on Monday briefed President Reagan on the situation in Armenia hit by a strong earthquake and American humanitarian aid sent to the stricken area. This comment was made by White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater who also stressed that such tragedies went beyond national boundaries and the relief aid was the humane responsibility of all people.

The White House spokesman noted that it was the first time since the Second World War that the United States had rendered humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union through government channels. According to his estimates, its size at present was 825,000 dollars. The first consignment of medical and other relief supplies bought on federal funds was sent from Dulles international airport on Saturday [10 December]. Six American traumatologists, a team of experts with eight dogs trained to sniff out people in rubble and other experts also flew to Armenia.

Besides the aid rendered through government channels, the White House spokesman said, various mass organisations and citizens were active in raising funds for the quake victims in Armenia. By now those organisations had already collected more than two million dollars.

FRG Allocates DM10 Million

LD1212174588 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 12 TASS—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has appropriated ten million marks from the state budget in Armenian earthquake relief aid, an official spokesman for the West German Government said today.

The money will go to send 16 heavy-lift cranes to affected areas. The Bonn government tomorrow will discuss further aid to quake victims.

The West German Foreign Ministry said it has set aside one million marks in relief aid.

EEC Appropriates Additional Aid

LD1212210088 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Brussels December 12 TASS—The European Economic Community decided today to earmark one million European currency units (ECU) as relief aid for earthquake victims in Armenia.

This is in addition to 500,000 ECU's appropriated by the Common Market immediately after it learnt of the tragedy in the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic.

The president of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, has sent a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, expressing profound condolences to the Soviet people over the misfortunte that has struck them.

The telegram said the EEC was prepared to respond to any request for aid to quake victims.

Numerous parcels with warm clothes and necessaries of life, which have been collected by common Belgians and social organizations, are arriving at the Soviet Embassy in Brussels.

Newspapers have published bank accounts opened by the Belgian Red Cross, the S.O.S. Armenia Society formed here and the Soviet Embassy for raising donations to the quake relief fund.

A second transport plane is being readied to fly to Armenia with medicines, medical equipment, canned foods and winter tents as well as a team of doctors.

Australia Offers $500,000 in Aid

LD1212121588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0601 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Canberra, 12 Dec (TASS)—Correspondent Aleksey Voronin reports that the Australian Government has allocated $500,000 [Australian dollars] for aid to earthquake victims in Soviet Armenia.

Announcing this yesterday in Canberra, Gareth Evens, minister for foreign affairs and foreign trade, stressed that "the government shares the concern of all Australians, particularly those of Armenian origin, in connection with this terrible tragedy, and it hopes that the aid will help ease the suffering caused by the earthquake." The funds will be sent directly via the Australian and the International Red Cross.

The Australian Red Cross, the Anglican Church, and the Australian Council of Churches have already received donations totalling $100,000. Twelve thousand dollars have been contributed by the members of the Armenian community in the state of Victoria, where about 6,000 Armenians live. Apart from money, people are offering medical supplies, warm clothing, blankets, and tents. [passage omitted]

Aid From Cuba, Poland, Bulgaria

LD1212120088 [Editorial Report] Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0010 GMT on 12 December transmits a summary of relief aid sent so far in connection with the earthquake in Armenia. In addition to already-reported aid, the item supplies the following information:

A group of 106 Cuban doctors and nurses left Havana's Jose Marti Airport on Sunday, seen off by Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Sent by the Cuban Government, the group will work at a field hospital.

"In a conversation with journalists at the airport the Cuban leader noted that despite the small scale of Cuban aid as compared with the scope of the natural disaster, the aid has huge moral significance since it expresses the feeling of fraternal solidarity the Cuban people feel for the Soviet Union. Answering a TASS correspondent's question, F. Castro pointed out that as soon as the relevant request is received from the Soviet side, a team of Cuban construction workers will be formed to participate in restoration work. It may include up to 2,000 experts in various construction skills. We have a very wide choice, since virtually all Cuban builders are ready to set off for Armenia at any moment in order to provide assistance, he stressed.

"Later, the Cuban leader made an entry in the book of condolences that has been opened at the USSR Embassy in Havana. He noted that the Cuban people express deep sympathy and suffer together with the people of the land of the soviets at this tragic time."

Five Polish military planes set off for Yerevan on Sunday. On board are elements of a field surgical hospital, with all the necessary equipment and bandaging materials, as well as medical staff, to help the earthquake victims. The Polish Federation of Miners Trade Unions has donated Zl million and offerred its help is rescue work. One hundred liters of blood have been donated by the Szczecin port.

In Bulgaria, the central leadership of the cultural and educational organization "Yerevan," which represents Armenian living in Bulgaria, has donated 60,000 lev and is taking up a collection of donations from the public. already 100,000 lev have been collected in this way. Two planes carrying various medical supplies, including containers of blood-transfusion systems, disposable needles, sleeping bags, blankets, and foodstuffs, have been sent to Armenia.

People from 23 countries worldwide have donated more than 30 million Swiss francs to Armenia so far.

Yugoslavs Send Help Despite Crash

LD1312093088 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade December 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Kuznetsov:

Resident of Skoplje, the capital of Macedonia, who lived through the horrors of a destructive earthquake 25 years ago, grieve over the tragic death in an air crash of crew members of a Yugoslav transport plane who were fulfilling a goodwill mission of Yugoslav peoples to render assistance to quake-stricken victims in Armenia. The plane crashed in the area of Yerevan. Today Raif Dizdarevic, president of the collective Presidency of Yugoslav Republic, and Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, expressed their deep condolences to the kith and kin of the deceased. Their telegrams of condolences say that seven flyers gave their lives to fulfil with honour their internationalist duty and a responsible task on rendering humanitarian assistance of Yugoslav peoples to the working people of Soviet Armenia.

Despite the misfortune, the Yugoslav side declared on Monday that it was ready to dispatch urgently again to Armenia concrete and reinforcement cutting equipment, detectors to search for people buried under ruins, foodstuffs, tents, as well as all necessary things for self-supporting life of 125 specialists from Skoplje who had come to the stricken area.

The government commission led by Janko Obocki, chairman of Federal Committee of Labour, Public Health and Social Security, is working non-stop. Representatives of work collectives from factories, mass organizations and offices which prepared medicines, clothing and food for quake victims, come to this Yugoslav quake relief centre. TASS correspondent was told that 30 tonnes of various cargoes are ready at the Belgrade airport for delivery to Armenia. They include antibiotics, surgical instruments, blood-transfusion and other equipment. The Yugoslav Red Cross opened a special account for donations to quake-stricken victims in Armenia. Blood bank sections were opened at all medical institutions for donors to give their blood.

The TANJUG agency reports that "Macedonians do not forget that 25 years ago when an earthquake struck the city of Skoplje, Soviet people were among the first to render assistance to Yugoslavia. Despite the crash of a Yugoslav transport plane, new cargoes should be delivered to the place of destination in the name of solidarity with quake-stricken Armenians and in the name of the memory for the dead flyers. Skoplje residents are well aware what fraternal assistance means at such time".

Hungarian Leaders Visit Embassy

LD1312092688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Bruno Straub, chairman of the

Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other officials today visited the Soviet embassy in Hungary. They made an entry in the visitors' book.

[Begin Grosz recording, in Hungarian with superimposed translation] Literally all social strata have felt the tragedy deeply. Our party's Central Committee, the all-party trade union organizations, and the Hungarian Red Cross now are uniting their efforts to provide all possible aid to those affected. I would like to take this opportunity to express words of the deepest and most heartfelt sympathy to the Soviet people and government, and to those people who have been struck by misfortune, and to express our fraternal solidarity. [end recording]

Condolences Sent on Earthquake, Plane Tragedy

U.S. Embassy Sends Condolences

LD1212191788 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock said on Monday that the American Embassy in Moscow was contributing 25,000 dollars in aid to earthquake victims in Armenia. The money will be put on bank account 600412 of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activities (Vneshekonombank).

Matlock visited Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Nikoforov today. On behalf of the embassy staff in Moscow and U.S. Consulate-General in Leningrad, he expressed deep condolences on the tragedy in Armenia.

For his part, Nikiforov thanked the ambassador for this noble and human act.

Diplomatic Corps Message

LD0912175688 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—On behalf of the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the USSR, Pascal Antoine Sane, ambassador of the Senegalese Republic and acting doyen of the diplomatic corps in Moscow, handed over a message to Mikhail Gorbachev where he expresses deep condolences in connection with the earthquake in Armenia and the loss of life. Receiving the message, Leonid Ilichev, USSR deputy foreign minister, expressed sincere gratitude for the sympathy displayed.

Armenian Condolences on Crash

NC1212065788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Statement by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers express their deep condolences to the families and (?dear ones) of those Soviet servicemen who were killed on 11 December in an air crash at the Leninakan airport while carrying out their duties as soldiers and civilians in extending assistance to the victims of the earthquake in the republic's rayons.

[Signed] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers

Azerbaijan Condolences on Crash

LD1212193288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] From the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, from the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers:

An aircraft carrying servicemen of the Baku garrison who were going to participate in removing the results of the earthquake had an accident while approaching the city of Leninakan on 11 December.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers send their condolences with a profound feeling of grief to the relatives of those killed in the aviation accident while performing their military duty and to the people close to them.

Comparison of Looting in Leninakan

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 December 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 6 a report by PRAVDA special correspondent Colonel P. Studenikin from the Armenian earthquake disaster area. The PRAVDA Second Edition item, entitled "A Land Weeps," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow PRAVDA First Edition version published in the 12 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 71-72, revealing the following variations:

Page 72, column a, paragraph two, last sentence reads in PRAVDA Second Edition: "...help poor Armenia.

"Unfortunately, both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan parasitical elements are still active, inciting ethnic strife and slipping in Karabakh slogans. They are the unscrupulous political demagogues, adventurists, and corrupt elements about whom M.S. Gorbachev had angry words to say in his 11 December interview. These people have no conscience and they have to be combated, using the force of public opinion and the force of the law.

"...Help is coming to Armenia. At the crossroads..." (adding passage)

Baku Commandant Sets New Year Assembly Rules
LD1212182288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Order of the military commandant of Baku City Special District No 11,

11 December 1988, city of Baku,

On organising implementation of the New Year:

In connection with the New Year approaching and the appeal of citizens, soviet and party bodies, and public organizations for permission to be given for implementation of the New Year measures and taking into account the fact that the situation in the city is gradually normalizing, I order:

1. Permission be given to children, students, and young people for festival measures from 29 December 1988 until 10 January 1989 from 0900 hours to 1900 hours; and branch trade unions, public organizations, and other organizations be allowed to hold New Year measures on 31 December 1988 and 1 January 1989 from 1500 hours till 2000 hours.

2. With permission of area commandants, executive committees will, by 25 December 1988, establish the time and place for the festivities. Maintenance of law and order in the place where the New Year measures are implemented is entrusted to area commandants.

3. If during the above mentioned period disturbances take place in the city, implementation of these measures will be prohibited.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant, Baku City Special District

Soldiers Said Killed by Demonstrators in Baku
NC1012102888 Tehran International Service in Turkish 1700 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Three of the Soviet soldiers who attacked demonstrators in Baku's Lenin Square using tanks and personnel carriers were injured by the demonstrators. Quoting the military commandant of the city, Baku Radio has said that a number of people were killed and others were wounded when the military units opened fire on the demonstrators.

A Baku Radio correspondent, describing the demonstration, confirmed that some demonstrators were killed and others were wounded. He added that traces of the blood of those who were killed as a result of concentrated fire by the military units were still clearly visible in Lenin Square.

The report also said that a number of buildings and installations on Lenin Square were set on fire by the demonstrators.

Georgia Aiding Armenian, Azerbaijani Refugees
PM1312091188 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Dec 88 p 4

[Unattributed report on statement by Z.A. Chkheidze, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, given to unnamed GRUZINFORM correspondent: "Assistance to the Neighbors"—place, date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] It is well known that, as a result of the tense situation in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's, sections of those republics' populations have been forced to abandon their place of permanent residence. Consequently, on 2 December the USSR Council of Ministers set up a government commission to render assistance to these citizens who are in difficulties, and O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, is a member of this commission. Even before that, a government commission was set up by the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers because the difficulties developing in the neighboring republics had produced extraordinary situations in some of Georgia's regions, especially in rayons neighboring Armenia and Azerbaijan—Dmanisskiy, Tsiteltskaroyskiy, Lagodekhskiy, and Marneulskiy Rayons—where refugees from these republics had asked for temporary refuge.

A GRUZINFORM correspondent asked Z.A. Chkheidze, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, to comment on the prevailing situation and to describe the relevant measures being taken.

[Chkheidze] The Georgian people have never let anyone suffer. In the same way, the whole country has come to our rescue when we have experienced difficulties. Let us recall the tragedy brought on us by the elements in the winter of 1986-1987. Nobody has ever had cause to call us ungrateful. Georgia has always been proud of its traditions of hospitality, it has always offered warmth, care, and attention to all who were in need. This time too, when it became necessary owing to the situation prevailing in our neighboring republics, the party, soviet, and economic organs and the population of the rayons bordering them offered a helping hand to refugees from Azerbaijan and Armenia. Most of them are women and children or elderly people. They are provided with food, medical services, and other social and consumer services.

Rayons staffs have been set up to strictly monitor the situation and coordinate actions to give all possible assistance to the newcomers. Every family, every single person is on record, and measures are being steadily implemented to send persons of Armenian nationality to Armenia and those of Azerbaijani nationality to Azerbaijan. Transportation and material resources have been mobilized for this purpose, and our republic's State Motor Vehicles Inspectorate is ensuring the safety of people's transportation.

Since 22 November up to 10,000 persons of Azerbaijani nationality have arrived in Dmanisskiy Rayon. More than 8,000 of them have already left for Azerbaijan. Until yesterday the number of those remaining fluctuated between 1,500 and 1,700. But the latest parties left on more than 100 vehicles yesterday. This process is continuing and is fully monitored by the government commission.

Many refugees have also appeared in Marneulskiy Rayon, with up to 5,400 persons arriving there since 16 November. By now the overwhelming majority have also departed for Azerbaijan.

Comparatively fewer persons were received by Gardabanskiy, Tsiteltskaroyskiy, and Lagodekhskiy Rayons. There were 209 persons of Armenian nationality arriving in Tsiteltskaroyskiy Rayon from Azerbaijan, and more than one-half of them have already left for Kalininskiy Rayon in the Armenian SSR. The remaining 21 families, comprising 89 persons, are also ready to depart.

As for Lagodekhskiy Rayon, there were 2,200 refugees arriving there from Belokanskiy, Kakhskiy, and some other rayons in Azerbaijan. Armenia's Oktomberyanskiy and Alaverdskiy Rayons have already received 1,882 persons. As soon as their personal belongings are delivered over the next few days, those remaining will also depart for Armenia.

Thus, since 16 November, a total of over 17,000 persons have arrived from Azerbaijan and Armenia in Georgia's neighboring rayons, and more than 15,000 have already departed for the appropriate republics. Local party, soviet, and economic organs are implementing all measures to meet the wishes of the newcomers and send them on to their new places of residence, in Armenia or Azerbaijan.

I am certain that nobody can remain indifferent to the situation prevailing in the neighboring republics. Of course, this is especially perturbing for Georgia's working people, the whole Georgian people. Our people have never distanced themselves from misfortunes and difficulties that have befallen their neighbors.

I would like to emphasize that, on departure, the refugees from Azerbaijan and Armenia express sincere feelings of gratitude to the population and the local leadership, the party and soviet organs, and all working people in our republic for the support, warm welcome, and assistance in these hard times.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Session Finishes Work

PM1212092388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Session Ended"]

[Text] Tallinn, 8 Dec—The state plan for economic and social development and the republic's State Budget for 1989 were ratified at the 9th session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, which finished late yesterday evening.

The session approved the concept of environmental conservation and the rational use of the Estonian SSR's natural resources and adopted the appropriate decision.

Information was heard about the Estonian SSR's preparation for the switch to republican economic accountability.

The session adopted an amendment to the Estonian SSR Constitution in which the status of the Estonian language is established as the state language on the territory of Estonia. At the same time there was a discussion of the draft Estonian SSR law on language which determines the legal guarantees and the procedure for the use of the state language, the Russian language, and other languages in the republic. Having approved this draft law in the main, the deputies decided to publish it and adopt it at the special session in January 1989.

The session set up an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for interethnic relations.

A law has been adopted on the mass repressions in Soviet Estonia in the 1940's and 1950's that took place in circumvention of the due process of the law.

The appropriate changes to the republic's legislation were made.

Information was heard about the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session and the 26 November 1988 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Estonian Justice Minister on Presidium Session

PM0712170088 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[ETA-attributed interview with Estonian Justice Minister A. Kiris by L. Sher: "The Decision Has Been Made, What Next?"; date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On 28 November PRAVDA and on 29 November our republic's newspapers published a report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, M.S. Gorbachev's speech at it, and the Presidium decree on the discrepancy between certain legislative acts adopted by the extraordinary Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session on 16 November and the USSR Constitution. We asked Estonian SSR Justice Minister Advig Kiris to answer some questions in this regard:

[Sher] How did the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session go?

[Kiris] The report was delivered by G. Razumovskiy, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Legislative Proposals Commission, who set out the common opinion of the Legislative Proposals Commissions of both Supreme Soviet chambers regarding the legality of the legislative acts adopted by the extraordinary session of our republic's supreme soviet. At the same time he submitted the draft USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree prepared by the commissions. This noted that our session's decisions—the Law on Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution, in Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5, and also the declaration, in parts 3 and 4—contravene the USSR Constitution. Hence it was proposed that these acts be deemed null and void.

It has to be said that the subsequent discussion was highly critical. A. Ryuytel [chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium] was the first to speak—his speech is being published. Then another nine people spoke, mostly chairmen of union republic supreme soviet presidiums, and then Comrade Gorbachev spoke. The assessment made in all the speeches was unanimous and coincided with that set out by the USSR Supreme Soviet commissions.

[Sher] Is the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium competent to pass such a decision, thereby revoking the will of the republic's supreme organ of state power?

[Kiris] To answer that you need to take a look at the articles of the USSR Constitution defining the competence of the USSR and the union republics. First of all there is Article 73, which says that, among other things, monitoring of observance of the USSR Constitution and ensuring that the union republic constitutions comply with it are within the competence of the USSR, in the shape of its supreme organs of state power and management. At the same time, no one except the legislating body itself can repeal laws adopted by a union republic's supreme soviet. According to Article 121, the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium has the right to repeal only resolutions of union republic councils of ministers if they do not accord with the law. But Paragraph 4 of this article entrusts the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with monitoring observance of the USSR Constitution and ensuring that the union republics' constitutions and laws accord with the USSR Constitution and laws. So the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had the right to make such an assessment of Estonian SSR legislative acts.

[Sher] Can this be regarded as meaning that the acts mentioned in the decree do not exist, as it were?

[Kiris] Juridically speaking, that is exactly so. They have no juridical force since, according to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, when a union republic's law diverges from a union law, it is the USSR law which operates.

[Sher] Could the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision have been different?

[Kiris] The decision could have been different only if the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had found that our legislative acts did not contravene the USSR Constitution. As soon as a contravention was deemed to have occurred, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision was automatic.

[Sher] Nonetheless, to what extent do the legislative acts adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November contravene the USSR Constitution?

[Kiris] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed four out of six articles of the Estonian SSR Law on Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution to be invalid. Therefore two articles do not contravene all-union legislation. There is Article 1, which changes the preamble to the Estonian SSR Constitution, where it says that international pacts recognized by world states, including the Soviet Union, are an inalienable part of the republic's legal system. Nor were there any complaints about Article 6, which introduced a new concept—public movements—into the political system. Various articles were deemed invalid. Thus Article 2 enshrines the principle that citizens and legal persons in the Estonian SSR are guaranteed judicial defense of their constitutional rights. The discrepancy here is that legal persons are guaranteed defense of their constitutional rights not only by the courts but also by arbitration, so it was a question not of a fundamental divergence but of a juridical discourtesy. Articles 3 and 4 of the Estonian SSR law, concerning the introduction into constitutional terminology of the concept of private ownership and the enshrining of the republic's sole ownership, were also deemed to contravene the USSR Constitution. Here too the difference seems to me to lie in the conceptual approach. But it remains a fact that in the existing USSR Constitution these questions are resolved differently from the way they are resolved in the additions to the

Estonian SSR Constitution. What is of fundamental significance is the amendment to Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution establishing the priority of Estonian SSR laws on the republic's territory. The same thought is enshrined in parts 3 and 4 of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet declaration. And these were obviously the provisions that attracted most attention and aroused greatest opposition at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. Thus while it is still possible to make some kind of case over whether or not Articles 2, 3, and 4 of the Estonian SSR law adopted 16 November accord with the USSR Constitution, it is very difficult to dispute the fact that Article 5 and the two parts of the declaration do not. They are at odds with a fundamental provision of the USSR Constitution. Of course, there are juridical problems here which can be discussed, enlisting Article 76 of the USSR Constitution—the question of the interrelationship between the sovereignty of the USSR and that of the union republics is very complex.

But the country's existing Constitution enshrines with absolute clarity the principle that the priority of USSR laws is established on the territory of the USSR.

[Sher] Didn't we get things the wrong way around, so to speak? Perhaps it would have been worthwhile beginning by putting forward a legislative initiative on making appropriate changes to the USSR Constitution, which, as we know, was basically adopted back in 1936 and slightly modified in 1977? It's not too late to do that even now.

[Kiris] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference envisaged carrying out a political reform, which cannot be done without reviewing the basic provisions of the Constitution. As is well known, the constitutional amendments that the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session is to make are only the first stage in the reform of the political system. So all questions concerning relations between the USSR and the union republics will certainly not be ignored in the future. Comrade Gorbachev himself emphasized this in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. So something that merits special attention is Paragraph 2 of the decree adopted at the session, which deems it advisable, within the context of the next stage of the political reform, to elaborate on the basis of constitutional norms a system of measures and state-legal mechanisms to safeguard the union republics' political and socioeconomic interests and expand and defend their sovereign rights within the USSR. So this work still lies ahead and, since the union republics will participate in it, I think we must now utilize precisely this path—actively joining in all-union legislative creativity—in order to achieve the goals we have set. In his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session Comrade Ryuytel noted that the amendments and additions to our republican constitution can also be regarded as proposals for improving union constitutional legislation.

I must say that this has not been a wasted effort. First, much juridical work to improve legislation has been performed and, second, it has been valuable experience.

[Sher] I think that this work has also not been a waste because it has drawn attention on a countrywide scale to a whole series of problems that require solution.

[Kiris] Certainly. And if we now ask ourselves why our Supreme Soviet adopted decisions that were not juridically irreproachable, it has to be said that there is a background to these decisions, which A. Ryuytel described in very great detail at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. At the same time these decisions were adopted 16 November, and today there have already been some changes in the direction in which the decisions pointed. After all, we were proceeding then from the draft USSR laws on additions to the Constitution and on elections in the form in which they were published. They have now been substantially modified, and I think that the USSR Supreme Soviet session will adopt them in a much better form than that in which the drafts existed on 16 November. But we should not claim all the credit—several union republics submitted proposals largely similar to ours, but the decisions of the extraordinary Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session also played a role in this.

Comrade Gorbachev's speech at the Presidium session shows that questions of relations between the USSR and the union republics have acquired great urgency, and paramount attention will be paid to them in the very near future.

Rival Labor Groups Established in Estonia

PM1212165088 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 3

[ETA-attributed report by F. Kaazik and L. Sher: "A Step Backward on the Path to Consolidation"]

[Text] "We declare and bring to the notice of organs of state power, party, trade union, and Komsomol organs, independent social organizations, and the mass media that on 30 November 1988 by a decision of the republican conference of labor collectives a social organization was created: the United Council of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR—OSTK ESSR." So says a declaration adopted unanimously by the participants in a founding conference held on 30 November in the auditorium of the House of Political Enlightenment in Tallinn.

"Representatives of 736 labor collectives declare that the meeting held at the House of Political Enlightenment did not have the power to adopt decisions in the name of the labor collectives of the Estonian SSR." So says a resolution adopted unanimously by representatives of the republic's labor collectives at a founding conference held on 30 November in the auditorium of Tallinn City Hall.

What really happened in Tallinn on 30 November, and in part in the early hours of 1 December, because both meetings ended after midnight?

The organizing committee of the founding conference of the United Council of Labor Collectives announced beforehand that this conference would be held in Tallinn on 30 November, at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee House of Political Enlightenment. On the basis of requests to participate that were received from enterprises, norms for representation and the procedure for the eleciton of delegates were defined. A total of 614 delegates were elected to the conference, representing some 120,000 working people, mainly at enterprises under union jurisdiction, as well as a number of industrial enterprises under republican jurisdiction, in Tallinn, Narva, Kokhtla-Yarva, Sillamyae, and certain other centers. A total of 572 delegates took part in the conference.

However, a few days before the conference it became known that representatives of several hundred more labor collectives intended to take part in it, not only from industrial enterprises and organizations, but also from kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and institutions and enterprises in the nonproduction sphere. The House of Political Enlightenment could not accommodate all those wishing to attend. But the organizers of the conferences did not consider it possible to change the appointed venue. On the eve of the conference, a meeting of representatives of labor collectives took place at Tallinn party gorkom, with the participation of V. Yarovoy, director of the "Dvigatel" plant, U. Kyaer, general director of the "Norma" association, and others. Here an agreement was reached that a single founding conference would be held in two auditoriums—the House of Political Enlightenment and Tallinn City Hall. The statutes and program for the new organization of working people of the Estonian SSR would be discussed. But since disagreements were foreseen on a number of matters, in particular whether the new organization should be purely economic, concerning itself mainly with problems of the implementation of republican economic accountability and the coordination of the collectives' efforts in improving the technological level of production, enhancing output quality, and implementing social programs aimed at improving the working people's living standard, or whether it should be socioeconomic, that is, whether its statutes and program should include any provisions of a political nature, it was decided not to adopt the program and statutes in their final form at the conference, but to discuss these documents and outline ways of finalizing them in order to reach a united opinion and set up a united organization of Estonian SSR labor collectives. Unfortunately, this agreement was not fulfilled. Nor was there a combined meeting of participants in the meetings in the two auditoriums. As a result, after many hours of discussion, in the House of Political Enlightenment the formation of the United Council of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR was proclaimed, and the organization's statutes were adopted by 530 votes to 16, with 10 abstentions.

In Tallinn City Hall 2,722 delegates assembled, elected according to the same representational norm from 736 labor collectives. Here too a discussion of documents got under way, and at the same time a discussion of the most topical questions of the republic's life, first and foremost the implementation of the program for republican economic accountability. But in this auditorium the results of the vote on the statutes were different. Not a single vote was cast in favor of adopting them. The votes against totaled 2,604, with 6 abstentions. The participants in the meeting in this auditorium decided to form a Union of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR, and adopted its statutes, a number of resolutions, and other documents.

Neither the United Council of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR nor the Union of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR adopted programs for their organizations in their final form, in order to create the possibility for rapprochement between them in the course of further work, and therefore for the consolidation of the two new organizations of the republic's working people, which they both declared to be their wish.

Although the formation of the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives and the Estonian SSR Union of Labor Collectives is patently a step backward on the path to consolidation, very real opportunities exist for rallying all the republic's working people who are sincerely committed to the implementation of restructuring. All that matters is not to waste these opportunities.

The conferences were addressed by: N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, in the House of Political Enlightenment; and A.-B. Upsi, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, in Tallinn City Hall.

Estonian News Agency Protests TASS Report

PM1212143888 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 4

["Estonian Telegraph Agency Statement"]

[Text] At about 1700 on 30 November, All-Union Radio, and later other mass media, published a report on the founding conference of the United Council of Production Collectives of the Estonian SSR which had supposedly ended in Tallinn. The report contained a number of gross inaccuracies and was remarkable for the one-sided and incomplete coverage of the course of events. Thus not a word was said about an event that took place simultaneously in the auditorium of the Tallinn City Hall, with the participation of more than 2,600 representatives of 736 of the republic's labor collectives. As a result the item transmitted by TASS objectively promoted not the consolidation, but the disunification of the Estonian SSR's labor collectives.

ETA, which belongs to the TASS integrated information system, states that it has nothing to do with the aforementioned report and did not transmit any information whatever to TASS about the 30 November conferences of representatives of the republic's labor collectives before they ended.

A protest has been expressed to the TASS leadership against the publication of the report "Estonia: Unification of Labor Collectives" as being unobjective and not promoting the consolidation of all forces in the republic that sincerely seek restructuring.

[Signed] Estonian Telegraph Agency (ETA)

Lithuania's Brazauskas Cited on Independence

LD1012162788 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent at Vilnius City Party Conference; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Following you I overheard the topics of your discussions which included republican self-financing, the destiny of Arturas Sakalauskas [Soviet Army conscript who was bullied into madness and who shot dead several of his fellow soldiers], the documents which you managed to look through, and finally reports by the foreign press on the session in Moscow. All this in several minutes.

[Brazauskas] Well, I shall try, I shall try to concentrate on these.

Indeed, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been concluded. These have been important events in our country's political life; these events are also very urgent and they can also alter political situation in Lithuania.

[Correspondent] You have just arrived from Moscow, but I would like to return to the capital of the country and to glance at Lithuania from there.

[Brazauskas] I would like to take an overall glance at the status of the union republics.

With regard to issues of economic independence, which have been raised for some time already, I must say that in this respect we have considerably advanced even more than some of our neighbours in solving these problems. This is one side of the question.

Of course documents adopted at the session are of great importance. Most items and individual articles, and amendments introduced to the Constitution and to the election laws had been corrected. Remarks made by most of the country's organizations, individual republics, and even, I would say, remarks made by individual people were taken into consideration.

On the other hand, I must admit that many issues which were raised during our session and which formed the republic's viewpoint on these issues, and also the viewpoint of the Sajudis and other organizations, unfortunately not all these issues were being solved.

What I have in mind, first of all, is the representation of republics within the organ of supreme authority in the country—that is the USSR Supreme Soviet. These issues were also raised at the session. However, whan the vote was taken, according to the majority of the deputies, these regulations were left as they had been made public in the draft amendments.

[Correspondent] Speaking about self-financing, we can judge about the advancement of decisions on this issue from Mikhail Gorbachev's opening speech at the session. So far it seems that most of the ideas on which the republican economists based their conception are so far not yet in force—the means of production, finance, and finally curbing the powers of departments. That is how we understood it from Mikhail Gorbachev's speech. What about you?

[Brazauskas] Well, Mikhail Gorbachev made more than one speech: he made several speeches during those days and if the radio listeners paid attention to his concluding speech they could find, I would say, a rather unambiguous formulation. I would add that the aspirations and wishes of individual republics are understood and that the first steps have been taken in improving our political life and the political structure of our state. Mistakes were also made and this was admitted.

However, during those days I had the possibility not only to participate in the sittings of the plenum and of the Supreme Soviet sessions—although I am not a deputy but I was invited. I must say that I was very pleased to hear the opinions of individual leaders of our country and individual members of the Politburo, whom I had a chance to meet, and who also confirmed the words said by our general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the end that issues concerning sovereignty of individual union republics, political sovereignty, and economic independence—which I would say is an important integral part of sovereignty—all these issues will be discussed in detail. Separate state committees will be set up which will be comprised of representatives from union republics.

[Correspondent] Yes, that is right. One can absolutely agree with your thoughts if Mikhail Gorbachev's final speech is taken as a basis in which new terminology appeared in the country's political and economic vocabulary—a republic and the center; the center and a republic. These have been repeated more than once. It appears that this is what your thoughts are derived from.

[Brazauskas] Yes, of course. This is fine; this gives us a lot of hope. On the whole we must make good use of the current situation in the country, at the center, as you have mentioned.

[Correspondent] A working group is being set up.

[Brazauskas] yes, such a working group is being formed although I am not able yet to tell you exactly who will represent our republic in this group. We shall make efforts to ensure that competent people join the group, people who know the subject, who are good judges of it, and who will be capable of defending their viewpoint.

However, I do not think that this is the function of individual members of the working group, or of an individual group from Lithuania. We all—the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Council of Ministers and leaders of the republic—we all are taking an active part and will continue to do so. So, these issues which were raised and discussed here in our republic, issues raised by the population of Lithuania, by individual groups, the Lithuanian Gajudis, ideas which had been generalized by the common effort, and I have in mind first of all the concept of economic independence, we must ensure that these ideas are realized as soon as possible.

Some people perhaps do not understand why we are talking about it so much, why we talk so much and for such a long time about economic independence, and why until now no results have been achieved. Everybody should understand that such cardinal, or I should say serious steps on the scale of the entire state, on the scale of the country, on the scale of Lithuania or individual republics, cannot be made in a day.

Perhaps everyone would agree with me that our main objective is not only to be absolutely self-dependent, to have full sovereignty. We also have to show to our people that these measures bring about positive results only. Our tables will be loaded with more food, shop counters with goods; we will be able to enjoy better living standards and to solve many issues of social character. This is our objective.

Therefore, everything we are doing is directed toward this goal, to achieve this objective. This is my opinion. [passage omitted]

*Sajudis Initiative Group Speeches at Congress

WA18000160 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Oct 88 pp 2-3

[Speeches given at the Constituent Congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring]

[Text] As was already announced, at the Constituent Congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, the members of the Sajudis Initiative Group on 22 October gave eight speeches. We publish these below.

Speech by Romualdas Ozolas

There is revolution today in Lithuania. A revolution of rebirth. It is still not clear what we will call it. But it is perfectly clear that it is beginning our most recent history, the history of Lithuania liberated from Stalinist socialism.

Enthralled by the dizzying events of liberation in the current summer, we already are seeing the triumphal arches of our future. Our rebirth is our sole hope that we ill actually pass under them, carrying our flags. Maybe not all of us present here today, the not so young and not so strong, will see this but we will pass beneath them reborn.

Our rebirth is not merely our own destiny. And it is not only the destiny of our neighbors of Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia and Russia It is also the destiny of Europe. Even the world. Today we understand perfectly that where man is not well off, there the people are not well off and where the people are not well off, there the world is not well off.

The world today is still terrifyingly sick. And the sickest is that sixth which, armed by Marxism, the last great social theory created by the wisdom of Europe, has endeavored to establish an ideal life on the earth. The main conclusion the world will recognize, in completing this protracted experiment, will obviously be that man cannot be God and that any claim of his to divinity becomes inhumane. Man must learn to live again not only for himself—this is the great torture and hope of our future. And not only for himself but also for himself and the other man. And precisely a man and not the administrator, precisely a man and not a chimera. Each man is higher than the most elevated individual. Each man is higher than the greatest empire.

The fate of Lithuania is special, as one of the most tragic peoples of Europe. If we were to mark each victim of genocide in Lithuania over the centuries (as they now propose doing) with even a small stone from our fields, can one imagine what a pyramid the rising sun would set aglow each morning? How would we in its shadow maintain the light of our soul and the concord of our will and reason? For certainly only in the light of the soul can one hope to spot the inextinguishable contours of reality and only from the concord of will and reason can one isolate the main principles in the uniqueness of each people: the culture, state and politics. Whatever terrible pyramid we would bear in our hearts, we must find in ourselves the strength, without bending under its burden, to move on—only then will all that was assume its single meaning: Lithuania should exist. Lithuania does exist. It exists together with the other peoples and states as a full member of the community of peoples in the world and together with all of them resolving the matters of its own and the entire world.

We as yet do not fully or precisely know the losses we have suffered now over the last 50 years: we could dispute how many rivers, streams and lakes have been destroyed, how much soil has been eaten away by erosion, how many cultural monuments and linguistic treasures destroyed. One thing is clear—we have come to our senses on the brink of disaster: the Nieman is dead, the Kursh Bay is suffocating, farming is antiecological, the food products are poor quality, architecture has been dehumanized and the language corrupted. The people are approaching the zone of absolute mutagenicness and so forth. Just how dramatic our situation is can be seen from the fact that we should consider the recognition of our catastrophic position as an achievement as quite recently they constantly extolled how fine and good everything was in our remarkable Lithuania. Equally terrible is the second achievement: the recognition that we do not have a creative strategy for Lithuania.

Presently there already is the basis for such a strategy and this is the general program of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring.

At present, we are well aware both what needs to be done and how, in resurrecting the man of Lithuania, in resurrecting the culture of Lithuania and in resurrecting the nature of Lithuania—this remarkable triad which makes the development of any people possible under the condition where all the components of this triad are equal. To recreate man means primarily to recreate his morality, his will and reason. To recreate culture is to recreate a striving for the historical higher truth and faith. To restore nature means to recognize its uniqueness, to express respect for it and check one's consumer claims on it. Our relations with our own renewal are still extremely abstract. But they are actual. They are actual also in the level of philosophy and the policy of our future. This is the third greatest accomplishment of today which guarantees many new remarkable achievements.

How does the public of Lithuania relate to all of these changes in our self-awareness and self-assertion? I would not err in saying that they consider these the start of our future today. In truth, there are people in Lithuania who complain of an ever-stronger nostalgia for the careless past. There are people who fear the present out of a very convenient inability to understand things. There are also convinced ideological opponents. For this reason the tense atmosphere must be considered normal for all of us. A revolution cannot be easy, even if it is one such as ours, a spiritual revolution, which was started by M.S. Gorbachev and the CPSU Central Committee.

How does the Lithuanian Communist Party and its leadership view all of this? More than one of its steps and more than one decision were unworthy. Its repentance is difficult. Some may not even want to become a man again. But still the changes are occurring in the party. This is the only opportunity for it as never before to feel alone. Now the hope for this is sounder than ever before. We have arrived at our constituent assembly, it could be said, without being able to shake the dust of the road from us.

On the other hand, everyone down to the man who began this path—both veterans and the young—have assembled here.

This assembly of ours is also no holiday but rather a working forum, a collective discussion of the main ideas which will guide us for a year or two: a rapid, businesslike and serious discussion. All that prevents our reason from shining here will remain on the sidelines. Let us add every, even the smallest idea to the pyramid of wisdom.

What is eternal? We will be eternal in our strength of spirit.

There is no way back! But forward, to independence, the road is infinite!

Speech of Arvidas Yuozaytis

We look at Lithuania and cannot help but feel that we love it as our only place on earth.

We reflect on the history of Lithuania and even without knowing it—certainly this has been concealed so carefully from us—we feel that it pulses in our blood.

This is the voice of our motherland. We have heard it and have decided on our great leap. The present summer has altered Lithuania.

We have finally realized that Lithuania and Freedom (Laisve) are two indivisible words which begin with the same letter.

All the same, we need not only a free but also a wise Lithuania. We need a model of a rational future.

What could this model be?

A rational future is a state of the law. As of now this does not exist in our land. And a minimum of 6 months is not enough of a prerequisite for its development. We have unbelievably difficult and sober work to alter the political calendar of our socialist reality. We all know what it is. We are approaching 16 December, Christmas, 16 February and Easter. The Movement has already changed a great deal in the political calendar. We must go farther. For all of Lithuania is demanding that these dates be given the importance which they merited in the actual history of our people. We need not "holidays" thought up in the offices of politicians but rather dates which are recognized, celebrated and marked by the entire country. And these dates must be defended by the law.

And a state of law means even more.

We must become citizens of Lithuania. This should be our common joy but also our common duties and our common concern.

No matter how proud we are of our people and their past, we should realize that a modern European state is based on a law of citizenship. All that is occurring and particularly all that will occur in Lithuania should assume the form of a civil compact, a guarantee of a civil compact. The Lithuanian and the foreigner are equal before the law. And only in following this path can we bring together all of the people living in Lithuania for its good, all the national minorities and sing with them proudly "Lithuania, Our Fatherland."

Only a citizen of Lithuania can say to the wanderers of the world that here is not a place open to all the winds and that we will allow no more occupiers either in bast boots or forged in iron.

Only in relying on a law concerning Lithuanian citizenship can we emerge in the world and call back to their sacred homeland our compatriots who have been scattered abroad and long for their homeland.

Not 50 years have passed since our country was inundated by a wave of vandalism. Even now we continue to live in a situation of living memory when seemingly even the air and the countryside remember how our sacred things were profaned and destroyed, our people murdered, our culture leveled and our language driven from life.

But even a more terrible thing was done. Our state was destroyed. Destroyed was what a reasonable and free life of man finds indispensable.

But it is also true that the greatest monument to the victims of the vandalism is their remembering and restoring to life. If we do not do this then we remain slaves. A slave is a minister and a slave is a speculator who equally worship their fattened calf. Such a society has no opportunity to survive.

Let us not be such a society.

Let us restore the life of that state which was not created by the vandals.

Let us save our souls and the future of our children.

Let us look at the tower of Gediminas Castle and swear to Lithuania. Our hope lies there. Our future freedom and justice. Do you hear, Lithuania, our love!?

All the celestial and terrestrial forces will help us.

Speech of Zigmas Vayshila

One of the first factors which has encouraged our rebirth is the ecological situation. The nature of Lithuania has been the cradle of our people and the only ancient place of their life. Neither in Siberia nor overseas. Our nature has formed the main traits and character of the Lithuanian people. At present, it is our hope but also a concern and an alarm. We cannot allow ourselves to plunder it so shamelessly. If we protect nature man will survive and our people will survive.

Such a threatening state of our nature has developed due to the ecologically and even economically unsound colonial policy of the Union departments. Thus, in Mazheykyay each year they process several million tons of products and their polluting effect is felt even by Riga. The Klaypeda Oil Products Exporting Enterprise manages in a year to deliver 2.5-fold more products than its capacity permits. Hence, the railroad disaster which occurred in the current year in Klaypeda was no accident. These could be expected daily. And not only in our unfortunate port. Do we need such capacity in Mazheykyay? Is it merely to again cover the coast in mazut?

However, we must not look for the scapegoat merely in Moscow. Our local authorities and our government are also to blame as they up to now have not been elected democratically but rather are nomenklatura proteges. Are examples needed? If you please. The old Klaypeda Sirius Plant discharged mercury, nickel and manganese into the atmosphere. The maximum tolerable concentrations were exceeded. It could not be otherwise as over the year Sirius uses 14 tons of mercury compounds and it has no gas scrubbers! The conservation bodies demanded that the pollution be reduced or the old plant closed as of 30 December 1987. Alas, on the Council of Ministers or in other bodies they found patrons. Why in Kaunas are there still no scrubbers? Why do we have a gas shortage? Do the people of Vilnius know what a gift has been prepared for them by the gorispolkom which gave the USSR Ministry of Communications permission to build a laboratory building of a subordinate institute between Pashilaychyay, Yustinishkes and Sheshkine? The name is an innocent one. However, here there will be experimental production with an enormous galvanic bath. And nearby are nurseries, schools and residences.

Let us openly admit. Up to now we have virtually not carried out any ecological expert examination and we do not know the true state of pollution. We must immediately broaden the network of measurements, we must acquire and produce modern devices both for the institutions and for the public. We should know the diagnosis of an illness. But it seems as though our government does not understand this very well. More attention must be given to this, more funds must be provided and a system of ecological monitoring established.

The main criterion is the health of man. Up to now we have not paid attention to this. For this reason the movement will work for a new law to protect Lithuanian nature and this is to be based upon the republic's sovereignty, glasnost, real criminal liability and international standards. Possibly then no one will wish to manipulate things freely, in increasing, for example, the tolerable amount of nitrates by several-fold or spray chemicals from aircraft knowing that a predominant portion of the wells is polluted.

Sajudis is demanding because of the threatening ecological situation and as yet the situation has not improved that the ecologically aggressive facilities not be expanded and new ones not built. And in the future these questions should be resolved by an open discussion and referendum. The Union departments should be obliged to fully compensate for the losses caused to the nature of Lithuania and to the health of people.

The Sajudis Program proclaims that Lithuania should become part of the nuclear-free zone of Europe. This is understandable and praiseworthy if one bears in mind the policy of nuclear disarmament which is commencing in the world. Let us channel the expenditures caused by the arms race into saving nature. For this reason we should know how many and which troops are stationed on the territory of Lithuania. Moreover, we must also ascertain the effect of their activities on nature. I feel that the existing curtain protects the army basically from our people and not from external enemies.

In speaking about the nuclear-free zone, we are all looking at the Ignalina AES [nuclear power plant]. This is a very painful abscess which is full of uncertainty and alarm. I feel that after the last Sajudis forum, nationality relations in Snechkus are improving. But confidence in the Ignalina AES will be won only after the inspection by an international commission which will have experts from all the interested countries. The IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] could become the organizer of such a commission. There are many methods for drawing attention to this question which is painful for all of Europe and we are doing this. We do not experience a shortage of knowledgeable persons. The constant evasions and even the lies of the nuclear workers, alas, have shown that we cannot put our trust in an Union commission. It is essential to put the AES under the control of the republic. Republic economic accountability is not far off.

We wish to establish a state of law. We are publicizing the crimes of Stalinism. Let us take one other step. I feel that on behalf of many of us I would appeal to the respected Algirdas Brazauskas, in linking to his name new hopes on restoring the lost confidence in our party leadership. We should all know upon whose instruction the public was kept effectively in the dark on the consequences of the Chernobyl accident in Lithuania and what cargo is being carried by the international crossing. Only in trusting one another can we move forward. I feel that there will be billions for saving our nature. But even more important is the man who will use this money. We want to move forward led by conscientious, competent and honest Lithuanian leaders.

Speech of Cazimera Prunskene

Along with cultural values, economic might largely determines the level of well-being and the position of each state and people among other states and peoples.

A people, in creating its material and cultural values, writes its own history. From these values the historians will assess the present of the Lithuanian people. Let no one be able to say that the Lithuanian people are nonindustrious and noncreative and that they are in some way parasitic and not capable of managing their economy.

The economy should serve the people and it should not run counter to the ecological, national, cultural and sociodemographic interests of the people. This can be achieved when the economy is managed by an interested owner-manager whether this be a family farm, an enterprise or the economy of a town, rayon or entire republic as a sovereign state. For this reason the economic independence of Lithuania is the main economic goal of the movement. Its essence has been widely discussed by the public and is supported by the republic government. Whether this becomes a reality depends upon the stance of the Union authorities.

The resolution adopted at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference provides for regional economic accountability. Its concept has a general nature, however this is no reason for the fragmentary changes which seem to us senseless and useless.

The vitality of the republic economy is determined by the unified management in exercising the rights and will of the people as the owner-manager. The overcoming of stagnation in the economy of any of the Union republics is also a guarantee of the over-all inner force of the Union and its world prestige. This has a profound political sense as it restores the Leninist content of a voluntary union of sovereign and equal republics, the Soviet socialist states.

Our opponents over the concept of economic independence stubbornly search for separatism and national egoism, in continuing to defend the phenomena of all-Union ownership of all the people (which has become anonymous) and a single national economic complex. We propose legitimizing the real and interested owner-manager in the form of a socially defined community, the republic people. In rejecting the supposed and clearly compromised unity the essence of which is centralized command management and as a consequence a large commodity deficit, an unbalanced economy and a low standard of living, we propose an all-Union market and equivalent exchange, where there is no connecting link of a bureaucratic apparatus between the real economic partners. In a union between the republics, their enterprises would form long-term ties of cooperation. The concept of economic independence is not aimed at destroying these, however an adjustment is inevitable because centralism and department barriers have turned a portion of these contacts into cross-shipments and the squandering of assets, the shipping of food over routes, by volume and at a price imposed from above in ignoring local interests. The settlement of the republic with the Union should develop from the primitive form of a tax in kind into a higher financial form, that is, payments to the Union budget for the performance of national functions delegated to it.

Our interrepublic accounts are historically unstudied, confused and illogical. Possibly we cannot manage them accurately and correctly. Possibly we should also not strive for this as there are debts which generally cannot be compensated for through the economy. For this reason, in working merely for realistic prices, for a start to independent management a "start-up situation" should be created which would not be worse than the existing one. The further state of the economy will then depend upon how we are able to run the economy independently.

Each element in the system of state management can be debated only in taking up the whole and in an economic language. This whole is not a random set but rather an integrated system. For this reason we find incomprehensible the negative attitude taken by the respected President Vitautas Astrauskas to the possibilities of an independent monetary system in the republic as put forward at the October Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. Alas, an analogous stance has been assumed by certain other local and Moscow opponents.

We are seeking economic self-management not for the sake of the national dignity or prestige of Lithuania but primarily for the sake of the well-being of the people and its direct dependence upon the results of labor. For this reason to leave an escape hatch for the redistributing of these results through a common monetary system is not only a socioeconomic but also a political error. It is time to form a political platform which not only glances upwards but also sees and listens to the "grass roots," the people.

We are waiting and hoping that the republic leadership will clearly and uniformly understand the will of the people in settling the question of economic independence on a Union level. We urge the workers of the enterprises and the departmental bodies of Lithuania to make this choice democratically. The expression of their will to place themselves under the republic would mean the conscious choice of an alternative: to be the labor force of a Union department or a man participating in the diverse and full life of a socioterritorial community. We propose a socioeconomic, cultural and civil integration for all the inhabitants of Lithuania in opposition to their departmental isolation the consequences of which are clear: a consumer psychology and the social restrictedness of the individual.

The time has come when, having said "we will manage the Lithuanian economy ourselves," we must ascertain and decide just how we are to do this. We are only on the threshold of this step. We need a profound scientific concept and a realistic practical program for restructuring the Lithuanian economy with the acquired economic independence. The program should reflect:

a) A strategy for the development of the Lithuanian economy in the near and distant future,

b) An economic mechanism for the enterprises and various group formations,

c) An organizational structure for managing the economy and the functioning of its bodies with the democratization of the economy,

d) Directions for improving the production-sectorial and territorial structure of the economy,

e) An agrarian policy and a program for implementing it,

f) A strategy for the development of the cooperative and individual sectors and economic regulation,

g) External ties of Lithuania, including with foreign countries,

h) The self-management of the city or rayon and the running and financing of their economy and budget,

i) A banking and financial system for an economically independent republic,

j) Regulating the social security and standard of living and antiinflationary means,

k) Reorganizing the system for the training and advanced training of specialists.

For working out and implementing this integrated program, we need the experience of scientists, practical specialists from various professions and leaders as well as their concrete contribution to the historically important mission. The future of the Lithuanian economy is in our hands. Let them be strong and just. Let them work for the good of Lithuania.

Speech of Vitautas Landsbergis

I would like to share my reflections on the state and problems of our culture, and primarily spiritual culture. About its concerns and hopes. But above all, I would like to propose a moment of silence to honor the bright memory of the patriarch of Lithuanian art history and museumology who passed away several days ago, Prof Paulyus Palaune.

Now I will speak about concerns and hopes.

We live in the ruins of a culture. These are the ruins of our customs, traditions, our way of life and human dealings. We have inspected these ruins, some in grief, others in indifference to everything, a third group comforting itself with the plywood structure without any foundation and the fourth group cherishing the hope that not everything is completely destroyed.

That not everything has been destroyed can be seen from the creativity of individual talents and the roots of these run back to the profound and specific forces of the people; this can be seen also from the appearances of unbroken human endurance, moral consistency and a love for the land and labor. There is still something in us and on these grounds, if we are decisive, we can resurrect Lithuania.

A war against culture has raged through Lithuania, giving rise to plague and hunger. Entire spiritual strata related to our faith and our statehood and its testing in battles of the past and even our unique ancient folklore—in a word, everything that could give rise to national dignity and moral strength was denied, deprecated and replaced by the ersatz. We could not even find solace in the strong words of Antanas Baranauskas:

> Our hearts are firm,
> They have long been tested,
> Long tempered by fire.

This did not help since the Hell of modern times, now humbly styled the deformations of socialism, penetrated to our very heart, infecting it with hopelessness, indifference and evil even toward ourselves. Seemingly labor, affection and self-sacrifice had no value and man without a future accepted the collective death proposed to him, the ecological and alcoholic suicide. Man with a twisted morality became like that rabble disdained and condemned at one time by V. Kudirka and which sells and turns over their kin only to placate foreign power. The great majority became different from such people and they became the example of that in life there is nothing more important than careers bringing apparent well-being and medals. We are well aware of what such a loss of true values meant.

Our morality, language and creativity fell into decay. The admonishment "honor thy father and mother" was violated, and the admonishment "do not steal" was trod upon because it became generally accepted to steal from the state which had ceased to be the state of the people. The view became widespread that the state robs us and we can take our due back. Even the leaders of the revolution urged the plundering of the plundered. Certainly deeds which require justification cannot be termed good deeds.

The poverty of spirit which had lost its feeling of own dignity was reflected in the language by the obstructing of vocabulary, syntax and standards of pronunciation by bad language which flew out of our mouths at every step. The words of "freedom," "truth" and "humanity" which over the decades meant something completely different than they should mean ultimately lost any sense. Artistic creativity was turned into a wasteland since you had to see first who would like this and most importantly be acceptable for the most powerful and richest. It was to be subordinated to the demand coming from behind the bureaucrat's desk which was now being tapped with a new, Soviet fist and often that desk was covered by cheap entertainment in exchange for spiritual independence. And what was the school doing in being cleverly directed to turn out equally hypocritical, cowardly and servile semicitizens?

Honor and praise to those teachers who during these years were concerned with man. Honor and respect to the man who endeavored to remain a man and himself.

Now, all of us—or almost all—want to become "people for ourselves," as Vidunas said. We are not a labor force, we are not a statistical mass and we are not the fertilizer for someone's fields. We have our own goal in life.

This goal is the well-being of our land and our children, the rebirth of our spirit in new creativity to whom and how we will be able to show this in order to look better. But why in the future must all roads to the East and West first run through the East where in a large city the superior leadership knows us better, what we are capable of and what we desire to bring to the world.

Is it really to be in the future when the great power sends an artist or musician merely, like serfs, to earn foreign exchange for this power and then receive from this merely scraps and not even bring fame to the name of Lithuania?

In the future must the architect and artist be confronted with a wall of a shortage of materials and a surplus of restrictive norms stumbling upon some nameless incomprehensiveness and stupidity?

In the future, will we trample on graves, destroy monuments, and permit the eradication of thousands of places and their names from the map of Lithuania? In the future, will we really lie, steal and be afraid of the good? No, those times have ended, they have begun to crack and shatter. A new "dawn" is breaking, the "bell" is ringing, and the entire awakened land is rising to its feet. It needs spiritual feats and the spirit of the feat is already reviving. It is essential to believe that we will make and restructure life for ourselves. Lithuania will flourish and crown itself with a wreath of peace.

In conclusion, several words more about the Lithuanians, ancient and modern, and about their customs. There are good traditions of human relations, a portion of our culture, but there are also those which we need not regard although they are a part of our culture. Let us develop friendship, aid and a feeling that everything done by each of us has been done by all of us for the good of our common homeland. We do not need envy or the scandals of provincial towns. We have assembled here for the sake of a great historic step and let the petty affairs give way to the solidarity and unity. Only in this manner will we carry out our duty to ourselves and our neighbors in Lithuania and will again be worthy of the name of a nation.

Speech of Virgiliyus Chepaytis

To speak about nationality relations is the same as endeavoring to empty the sea with a bucket. For this reason I will take up the given problem only in two aspects which are the most important, in my view, in the current political situation.

Recently, a great deal has been said about the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the republic. Let us endeavor to see whether they actually have become exacerbated and if this is the case then who is to blame for this.

At the beginning of June, the Lithuanian movement for restructuring arose. A month later, all of Lithuania was covered in a sea of yellow, green and red and this we, the Lithuanians, perceived as a miracle. Now just imagine how the nonindigenous inhabitants of Lithuania and particularly those who have moved into Lithuania recently might feel in this sharply altered situation. For them who know neither our language nor history and who perceive the words "Soviet Union" and "Russia" as synonyms and who are accustomed with the single Russian language to get by superbly both in Kirghizia, in the Yakut tundra and in Lithuania, it might seem that they have suddenly awoken abroad.

What information have these citizens of our republic been able to gain about the altered political situation? Virtually none if one does not consider the panic rumors that Sajudis tomorrow will force everyone to speak Lithuanian and that all the Russians will be sent back to Russia. At the same time, articles have appeared in the press accusing Sajudis of nationalism while the raykom instructors in all Lithuania have assured members of Russian and Polish collectives that there is no role for the nonindigenous residents in Sajudis.

We have participated in many meetings in international labor collectives and explained the national program of Sajudis. And only very few did not want to understand our goals. Usually these were members of the party bureau who stated that Sajudis is an organization with a nationalistic spirit but they were unable to give any proof of this except a reference to some hand-written poster which evidently appeared at the first meeting on Cathedral Square.

And now an unknown hand is dropping into mailboxes printed leaflets with threats to the Lithuanian people and unleashed passions must now be placated by television.

I would like to ask: who is personally responsible for the fact that during these tense months, Sajudis did not have any opportunity to use the press or television and set forward its national program to the non-Lithuanians? Who is responsible for the fact that the newspapers CZERWONY SZTANDAR and SOVETSKAYA LITVA initiated a campaign against Sajudis, sowing fear and mistrust amongst the Poles and Russians?

Who for 3 years did not permit glasnost in Lithuania although this had already long won over the press in Latvia and Estonia? Ultimately, Sajudis itself broke down this door.

As you know, the Greens in their congress drew up a rough list of people guilty of the severest crimes against Lithuanian nature. Has the time not come for us to draw up a similar list of those who have destroyed and are destroying our culture?

I do not want to end my comments by a mere statement of the situation. Let me voice several general considerations.

The last decades have inculcated in many of us a complex of national inferiority. In the enormous Soviet Union, we were a national minority. The only thing remaining for us was just to keep in our hearts the inviolability of our national feelings which in certain instances found expression in hate for other, more fortunate peoples. Now, when our capital is again here in Vilnius, and when we ourselves should be responsible for the fate of Lithuania, the new situation has confronted us with completely different requirements.

It is very easy and simple to be a small people, because another, more numerous people settles everything for it. It is significantly harder to feel oneself the master of one's fate, as then responsibility must be assumed not only for one's fate but also for the fate of other peoples.

There are more Russians in the world than there are Lithuanians, at least 50 times more, and 10-fold more Poles. But in Lithuania, they are national minorities. It is our duty now not to fall under the sway of emotions but to be guided by reason. These 4 ½ months are just the start of a long path. Any rash, impulsive step can play into the hands of the enemies of restructuring not only in the republic but also throughout the Soviet Union. We must not allow our youth, intoxicated by the sweetness of the previously forbidden fruit, undertake irresponsible actions.

As the events of 28 September have shown, our people do not give way so easily to provocations. But the investigation of these events has also shown that we are beginning to live in a state of law. In such a state any actions aimed at fanning national prejudice and hate must be punished. I am hopeful that the Chairman of the State Security Committee, Comrade Eysmuntas, will help discover who organized the printing of the inflammatory leaflets and disseminated them. I am profoundly convinced that such actions threaten the security of our socialist state.

We have not become the masters of our homeland so that any citizen of it, whatever nationality he might be, felt himself a pariah. It is enough that we, the Lithuanians, were for so many decades guests in the house built by our predecessors and from whence we could be thrown out at any moment. Now we have become the great people in our fatherland and its actual greatness will be judged from our patience and respect for all who live in our land.

Speech of Bronyus Genzyalis

In wishing to answer the question "To what are we aspiring?" it is essential to explain in what situation we find ourselves and how we ended up in it. We live in a nation which has experienced the Stalin age and stagnation. The goals of the October Revolution were turned into paper declarations. The demagoguery about "worker power" no longer satisfied anybody as the workers themselves continue to live in poverty and no one defends their rights. The trade unions have been turned into an appendage of the administration. The situation of the intellectuals is equally difficult. At the same time, the bureaucracy, I would call it a new class, is flourishing.

The people do not have enough high-quality food and other vital necessities. There is scarcity everywhere. People wait and may not obtain an apartment before retirement age. Let us be honest and admit that our dormitories for a civilized man are flop-houses for the disenfranchised. We lack hospitals, nurseries, creches and schools, however there is no shortage of luxurious offices for the leadership.

It is particularly difficult for the youth if they do not have influential pappas and uncles. The youth who have completed secondary school or have acquired some specialty earn a meager wage. Where can they live if they establish a family? At the same time the superiors have not only provided themselves with excellent apartments but have also been concerned for their offspring. Our forests and lakes have become feudal possessions. In truth, some have rightly stated that under the effect of restructuring, the privileges of the modern feudal lords will be constricted. But where is there any guarantee that these will not be restored?

Lithuania is again playing the game "cutting back on staffs." The bureaucrats manage to establish "new jobs" for themselves and wait for the return of the previous good times.

Families are disintegrating. In the press we read: "There are now more orphans than there were in the postwar years...." Is it really that just morals are to blame? Why have these fallen so low? Have we shown any interest in the situation of young mothers? Most often they live in a dormitory and often illegally so. Wages are such that it is impossible to get by without outside aid. But where can this be found? Do we know how many recent mothers who abandoned their children do not have housing?

A critical situation has developed in our land. If we do not analyze the reasons or ignore them, the explosion will be inevitable. Then it will be too late. At the same time, it is essential to agree that there is no society which does not have its problems. Their reasons are sought out not to punish the guilty but rather to understand the course of history.

Our parents, with rare exception, were uneducated but they inherited moral values from their own parents. We grew up in a society without rights. Morality disappeared. Alienation occurred between people. The obvious discrepancy between word and deed dulled the soul of the young man. A feeling of uncertainty arose in the people. This feeling was intensified by the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution. Finally, man realized that he, in polluting nature, will suffocate without a nuclear war and realized that changes are essential and they are inevitable. However, stagnation met the interests of a portion of the people. We call them bureaucrats. They are terrified of any changes.

What does the democratization of the nation mean? In the absence of democracy the law operated of the incorrect recruitment of personnel: a chief chose as his deputy an obedient, weak-willed unenterprising man so as not to create a competitor. When the chief rose "higher" or left for a "different world" (no one of his own free will vacated a chair before his death), his place was taken by the deputy. Thus, our bureaucracy was dulled.

The chiefs knew that their status depended upon the "superior." Skills and invested labor were of no importance and everything was determined by connections and the ability to please. To be deprived of one's chair was to be turned into a nothing.

Capitalism was not restored but rather neofeudal relations of a Byzantine sort were established.

A paradoxical situation came into being: the nation's leadership led by M.S. Gorbachev was endeavoring to escape from stagnation, the broad masses, at least I can say this about Lithuania, supported the reforms while a significant portion of the leaders resisted them for they intuitively felt that as our society became democratized they would have to give up their places to others and to the youth. For them the existing situation meant the survival of their previous privileges.

Social problems cannot be solved by holding meetings or arguing. However, the demonstrations freed the people from fear and their confidence in their own forces grew. Man finally felt himself to be a citizen and not a cog in the machine which is called the state.

Now a new stage is beginning in our activities: the solving of urgent problems. We must not only criticize but also think what must be done so that things are not the same as they were. We should offer our own version for solving social problems as well as heed the arguments of opponents. Our demands should be specific and clear.

At present, in my view, we must endeavor to halt in Lithuania the construction of enterprises under the Union departments; we must not build any enterprises which the republic does not need or for which we must import workers from other areas; we must develop production by intensifying labor; the assets and building materials released by putting on new shifts can be used for the construction of housing; we must see to it that the managerial apparatus be actually reduced and the liberated offices be turned over to hospitals, schools, nurseries and cultural institutions so that all privileges are eliminated. Legally earned money should be the sole indicator for the prosperity of a man.

Lithuania needs skilled specialists. The school of today is incapable of training them. The first condition for this is the autonomy of the higher institutions of learning. Each higher school should have its own character.

To a significant degree the fate of the people depends upon the region's leadership. It must be competent. It must include individuals capable of representing and defending the interests of the people. Until now the republic leadership has not been able to properly represent its people. The same can be said about the party leadership.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee was not elected but approved. For this reason it is essential to convene an extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party where we could clearly formulate a policy toward the restructuring of the nation and elect a new Central Committee. At the same time, I feel that the Lithuanian government should be reorganized. The slogan "All Power to the Soviets," as long as the soviets are bureaucratic offices, makes no sense.

I feel that the participants of the movement cannot remain passive observers and critics. Let us prepare for elections! Only new people can bring Lithuania out of the critical situation. At the same time, I would like to congratulate the new First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade A. Brazauskas, and express the hope that he will be that individual who is able to bring together our people.

Speech of Antanas Burachas

At present, during the time of the rise of national rebirth, I turn primarily to you, like-thinkers, with whom we have jointly defended the progress of democracy for Lithuania. The draft program of the LDP [Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring] still does not contain a new assessment of the current situation in Lithuania, as it is changing. On behalf of the initiative group of the movement, I would like to cordially congratulate the new First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Algirdas Brazauskas, with whom we have hoisted the national flag in Vingis and together recalled the bitter lessons of history when Lithuania was overthrown by Stalin. We welcome the decisive efforts to overcome the crisis stagnation on the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and we desire determination in a more fundamental restructuring of the entire republic managerial apparatus for the good of democracy and the people, the restoration of the lost authority of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the confidence of the Lithuanian people in a desire for further progress! In the aim of recovering the lost guarantees for the sovereignty of Lithuania, the draft of a new Lithuanian Constitution has already been published and will be discussed at a session of the Academy of Sciences. The movement and republic specialists have initiated broad debates on the principles for ensuring the republic's economic independence.

Bitter historical experience indicates that the leaders of the Supreme Soviet in their current membership have been unable to defend decisively the rights of the Lithuanian citizens to return from exile to the motherland, the right against administrative arbitrariness of 28-29 September and the right of free speech. Its Presidium has often merely followed in the trail of principled demands by the LDP to return to our people their national dignity, democracy and morality.

For this reason, we must still not foster vain illusions that the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet in its present membership and its current Commission of Legislative Proposals will adopt precisely the Constitution which a renascent Lithuania wants. Only a nationwide referendum for approving the new constitution of our republic will be a firm guarantee of the legal principles of sovereignty which express the interests of the Lithuanian people.

What are the program requirements of our movement in this constitution?

In the first place, these are guarantees for the strengthening of the economic, cultural, technological and scientific sovereignty of the republic.

Secondly, these are a further spiritual rebirth of the people and the quick overcoming of the consequences of its spiritual genocide during the post-Stalin and Brezhnev period.

Thirdly, this is participation in the nuclear-free Baltic and the nuclear-free grouping of all the states of the Baltic Sea Basin.

Fourthly, this means the establishing of a free economic zone in the Soviet Baltic acting as the intermediary of technological progress between East and West and thus the modernizing of the backward production structure and the information and intellectual potential of the Baltic.

Fifthly, this is the direct participation of Soviet Lithuania in international professional organizations of culture, public health, science, education, direct contacts of cultural and other collaboration with other states.

Many new tasks arise on the question of further uniting the people and finally a decisive effort has been begun by our government having repealed the acts of deportation of the Lithuanian people a portion of which has been scattered to Punsk, Little Lithuania, to Igarka and to the suburbs of Chicago. This is a concern not only for restoring the rights of those illegally exiled and returning the remains of our outstanding predecessors but also concern linked to homage paid to the innocently killed rebels against tsarist suppression and genocide.

This is also concern for the rapid restoring of normal international ties between the workers of culture, science, the youth and athletes. The magnificent spirit of national rebirth has awakened many homesick noble souls in America, Australia and West Germany. And most importantly, this rebirth in an unprecedented manner has united the cherished hope of our compatriots with different political views by employing all forces to help restore the history and monuments of the people, and to help attain the technical and cultural progress of the civilized world. This enthusiasm of benevolence must be directed into a worthy and proper channel!

All of us—both here and far beyond these walls—are happy for the national spirit and the mature democratic aspirations of Lithuania and the entire Baltic. However, in this hour of triumphant and rare joy, it is essential to share with you also that enormous concern which accompanies the promise of our future. The LDP which has reached a mature age and which I would call simply the democratic movement of Lithuania, as we do not require an indifferent restructuring, is also threatened by cancer and the other calamities of a developing institution.

Only having ensured real guarantees for this legality on the basis of the demands of the LDP can we hope for a fundamental surmounting of the widespread nomenklatura privileges both in the selection of jobs as well as in the allocation of scarce and other materials in the areas of medicine or recreation. Only then would we obtain more dependable guarantees for an improvement in the quality of our mass products and services.

Up to the present, for these ideas of the LDP, unfortunately, the republic's mass communications media continue to remain sealed off, at times even in those instances when it is a matter of publishing material for joint discussion by the movement and government. My material devoted to the crucial problems of nomenklatura privileges and other problems of social justice, after the section head of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Ch. Shlizhyus, was acquainted with it, remained unprinted for over 1.5 months in any republic newspaper, although no one rejected its pertinence. Thus, up to the present, it is still difficult to sustain a conversation with other Lithuanian citizens under these conditions of glasnost, particularly in the aims of improving the way of life. We will unfortunately only have as much democratization as we can take by force. Although concealed by the cosmetics of restructuring, there is evermore social and political demagoguery.

For this reason we must have legislative guarantees for glasnost, that is, guarantees against the arbitrariness of the censor, guarantees for free publishing activities, glasnost in the activities of the state bodies, freedom of assembly and accountability of the security bodies to the bodies of the republic soviets. We should win the right to establish a constitutional court for defending the sovereignty of the people and the citizens, we must hold secret direct elections for all levels of deputies, procurators and judges, work for the elimination of persecution for political convictions and introduce a system for a unified domestic and overseas passport. Finally, the CPSU should show its real advantages in leading society to progress not by a monopolistic dictatorship but rather on truly democratic principles.

The moths which fly into the flames should not obscure the inner need for national unity and democracy. On the eve of the elections to the Sejm and its council and in handing on the banner to new vital forces of rebirth, we are concerned about maintaining a clear moral concept for our movement.

As the movement becomes a revolutionary force which consolidates the people and transforms life, its leaders more and more frequently will be offered posts and deputy jobs. In recognizing the authority of the movement, representatives of other ideological currents are beginning to join it. Even now people are endeavoring to be a member of the council of the future Sejm who are capable of successfully collecting votes but scarcely of soberly assessing their real capabilities to dedicate themselves to implementing and developing the aspirations for sovereignty in a democratic Lithuania. For this reason the significance of coordinated moral ideas within the movement itself becomes important as never before and the implementing of the movement's sociopolitical program for many will be a still untried school of altruistic civicness and self-sacrifice for the good of the motherland being developed on the principles of true social justice.

Lithuanian Komsomol Discusses Restructuring

PM1212143688 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 3

[ELTA report: "Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Vilnius, 1 Dec—A Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee plenum held here today discussed the program for the republican Komsomol organization's activity until the Lithuanian Komsomol congress, questions of the autonomy of the Lithuanian Komsomol, and the projected reorganization of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee apparatus. A report was delivered by A. Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee. He stressed that the Komsomol should be an ideologically firm, united political organization pledged to adhere to the principles of democratic centralism, but at the same time it is becoming autonomous economically, politically, and organizationally. The situation that has arisen in the republic also affects the Komsomol's life, and young people participate actively in the restructuring processes.

N. Liventsev, second secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee, and secretaries A. Kumzha, P. Pachyulis, and I. Strumilene spoke of the need for the adoption of a program for the Komsomol of Lithuania, a sovereign republic, the democratization of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, and the development of young people's economic activity and the activity of Komsomol members and the forms that activity takes in schools, as well as changes in the structure of the Lithuanian Kosmomol Central Committee and primary Komsomol organizations.

The plenum participants expressed their opinion on the Lithuanian Komsomol program and symbols and put forward proposals on how to step up participation in the republic's sociopolitical life and the resolution of young people's social problems.

A resolution was adopted on the questions discussed, in accordance with which proposals will be prepared for the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee Theses for all-union Komsomol discussion.

S.N. Yepifantsev, secretary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee, and S.A. Yesakov, senior official of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee were present and spoke at the plenum.

S. Yasis, first deputy chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, and other senior party and Komsomol workers took part in the plenum.

Nationality Tensions in Lithuanian Schools

LD1212105988 [Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1005 GMT on 9 December carries a review of the day's press by commentator Benas Rupeika and Announcer Audrius Girzadas. Among the press items highlighted is an article in KOMJAUNIMO TIESA, the daily of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee, by Journalists Kazimieras Budrys and Izidorius Simulionis about tensions in nationality relations among schoolchildren and young people. Specifically, the article discusses incidents that have taken place in Vilnius Rayon. Rupeika and Girzadas provide the following quotations from the article:

"More than a month has passed since the solemn school party following which Aldas returned home beaten up." "Aldas is an active pupil of the school and it is not his fault that in a school where instruction is carried out in Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian, the relationship among pupils and teachers of these different nationalities has become very tense lately. Several schoolchildren managed to rip the Sajudis badge from a friend's lapel and to profane a display board with national symbols on it."

The Education Department refers to these incidents as nationality squabbles, but these so-called squabbles have not occurred in this place only. The article goes on to discuss other incidents that took place in Naujoji Vilnia, a suburb of Vilnius which is populated primarily by people of the Russian and Polish nationalities:

"The state flag was torn from houses at Nos 5 and 6 Geroji Street and from Kindergartern No 66 along this same street in Naujoji Vilnia, Vilnius Rayon. Later, Igor Klokov and Yan Grinkievich, workers at the Neris plant, and Oleg Matikalskiy, unemployed, along with two juveniles from Secondary School No 25, burned all three of these flags on the banks of the Vilnele River."

Sigitas, Juodelis, a junior lawyer at the Procurator's Office, said: "The aggravation of nationality relations is evident, even in schools. The fact is that the nationalistic, chauvinistic aspirations of the older generation are being passed on to young people, to schoolchildren. Hence the challenge: Lithuanians have no place in this rayon!"

Commentary on Lithuanian Situation, Hopes

LD1212110488 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Commentary by Vladas Gaidys, candidate of philosophy, on the Lithuanian reaction following the USSR Supreme Soviet Session]

[Excerpts] Fifteen years ago a young and naive sociologist in Moscow was accused of political shortsightedness. He was asked the following question in his sociological questionaire: do you know the deputy of your rayon? This formulation was interpreted as political provocation.

Indeed, people here did not, not only know their deputies but they also were ignorant of the state structure. Here are some facts from sociological research: A survey carried out among young people of Vilnius 1 and ½ years ago found that only 5 percent of young people knew who their deputy was; only 15 percent were interested in the announced draft laws, and 6 percent took part in the discussion of some draft law or other. And suddenly, in a month's time, the people's consciousness has changed beyond recogniztion. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Gorbachev is very popular in Lithuania. His name is linked to the democratic changes which have already taken place. And what a dissapointment it was to read the draft amendments to the Constitution and find out that the self-dependence of union republics will be even more restricted. [passage omitted]

After the Supreme Soviet session, another important thing emerged. Mikhail Gorbachev likes to say repeatedly that we must learn democracy. This might appear to be only a metaphor, but it seems that these words have to be understood literally. And here is an extraordinary occurence—if not a sensation—which took place at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Deputies used to raise their hand in agreement or disagreement concerning the draft law under discussion. This is not a perfect way and nowadays electronics could be introduced. The trouble is that in this house one is not very good at counting the raised hands. Since Josef Stalin's time, the vote used to be taken unanimously. And now when pluralism of opinion appears it turns out suddenly that preparations to deal with such a simple thing are inadequate. One of the Lithuanian deputies maintained during the television program that votes were counted almost exactly. Of course, it did not have a decisive influence, although this fact is rather symptomatic. Another thing, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that issues which aroused arguments and heated emotions could have been avoided, there would have been less misunderstandings if representatives from Lithuania were invited to participate in the formulation of draft amendments to the Constitution. And the fact that these representatives had not been invited may be regarded as a conscious act by Moscow officials, although most probably this is the old centralist tradition; so here also we have to learn democracy. [passage omitted]

Are the elections in the USSR going to be democratic in real terms? Will the deputies really represent the interests of voters? It is difficult to say. In some republics apathy still reigns.

An interesting regularity has been observed: Where people are politically passive and where the conservatives are sure of their strength, one sees more slogans and posters about democratization.

We do not have such slogans in Lithuania any more. And there is no doubt that in the spring real elections will take place in Lithuania. The guarantee of this is the democratic movement, sajudis, which will promote its own candidates and will take an active part in the election campaign.

New Magazine Published in Lithuania

LD1112071188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Questions of Lithuanian language and literature will be reflected in the new magazine MOTHER TONGUE to come out next January in Lithuania. It will publish literary reviews, the latest research by linguists, and historical and bibliographical works by scientists.

Belorussian Public Rejects Planned Nuclear Plant

LD1312085588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0755 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Minsk, 13 Dec (TASS)—Planning and surveying work in Vitebsk Oblast of Belorussia where it was proposed to build an atomic energy station [AES], has been halted at the public's insistence in this western USSR republic. The intention to build an AES here had been occasioned by a shortage of electricity as the lack of an essential fuel base.

The public mood was undoubtedly connected with the Chernobyl tragedy, when the consequences of the accident at the atomic power station were felt in the southern areas of Belorussia. The prejudice against nuclear power plants in the republic is strong, although it is possible that emotions are occasionally gaining the upper hand over sober calculation.

It has been said at meetings and gatherings that another path for the development of power engineering must be sought, in particular the construction of hydraulic power stations on shallow rivers and the use of wind energy. The public believes that stricter control is also needed over the fulfillment of the energy conservation program which has been adopted by the Belorussian government.

Zaykov Attends Moscow Gorkom Plenum 7 Dec

PM1212150988 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "Plenum of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] A plenum of the Moscow Party Gorkom, held 7 December, discussed organizational questions.

The plenum elected Yu.A. Prokofyev second secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom by a secret ballot.

The plenum elected N.M. Andreyanova, hitherto first secretary of the Gagarinskiy CPSU Raykom, and V.I. Kuznetsov, hitherto first secretary of the Cheremushkinskiy CPSU Raykom, secretaries of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom by a secret ballot.

The plenum released A.A. Nizovtseva and O.A. Korolev from their duties as secretaries of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom in connection with their transfer to other work. A.A. Nizovtseva has been appointed full-time deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, while O.A. Korolev has been appointed USSR deputy minister of the machine tool and tool building industry.

In conformity with the 19th all-union party conference directives, the Moscow CPSU Gorkom apparatus was reorganized with a view to intensifying the political nature of party leadership. Within the framework of the apparatus' new structure, the plenum appointed A.Ya. Nemtinov chief of the Gorkom's Organizational-Party and Cadres Work Department; P.P. Khilkevich—chief of the Ideological Department; V.A. Korovin—chief of the Socioeconomic Department; V.F. Chernyshev—chief of the State and Law Department; V.I. Zhdanov—chief of a Gorkom department; Yu.F. Dudnik—chief of the International Department; and V.A. Martin—chief of the General Department. T.P. Arkhipova was appointed chairman of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Party Control Commission.

The plenum participants heard a report by A.Ya. Nemtinov, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Organizational-Party and Cadres Work Department, on the course of the report and elections campaign in the Moscow City party organization. They also heard a report by V.A. Korovin, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Socioeconomic Department, on the preliminary results of the fulfillment of the plan for the city's socioeconomic development and socialist pledges in 1988, and on the 1989 plan.

The plenum was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

V.T. Suslin, chief of a section of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department, took part in the plenum's work.

Zaykov Attends Memorial Ceremony in Moscow

LD0712025088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2244 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 6 December Muscovites marked the 47th anniversary of the rout of the German fascist troops near Moscow.

At the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall those gathered honored the memory of the Soviet servicemen and home guards who gave up their lives, heroically defending the capital against the Hitlerite hordes.

Taking part in the solemn ceremony were Comrade Zaykov, leaders of the party and local Soviet bodies of Moscow and Moscow Oblast, commanders, war and labor veterans, representatives of trade union and Komsomol organizations, and working people of the capital. [video shows tomb of the unknown soldier, Zaykov, and four civilian officials standing at attention]

Functions of Congress of Deputies Viewed

PM1212142588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Interview with B.N. Topornin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences" and chief of department in the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by TASS correspondent A. Aladinskiy: "The Potential of People's Power"; place, date not given]

[Text] An election campaign is about to get under way in the country—USSR people's deputies are due to be elected under the new law. Readers ask for more detailed explanations of the basic changes in the structure and functions of the supreme organs of power which will determine the activity of people's deputies. TASS correspondent A. Aladinskiy interviewed B.N. Topornin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chief of department in the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute.

[Topornin] The USSR Supreme Soviet session's decisions are the first and, at the same time, very important stage of the political system's reform. They are an implementation of the 19th party conference ideas aimed at reviving the full power of soviets of people's deputies, both at local and supreme levels.

I would like to emphasize that the constitutional reform has begun with the supreme link in the system of soviets. And this is justified. Proposals were made in the course of the debate, which can be reduced to the suggestion that the political system should have been built up from below; in other words to lay first the local and then the republican "floors," and only then to raise the top floors or, as people said, "the roof." Such reflections seem inaccurate to me. To continue our conversation in figurative terms, I would compare the political system to a living organism which must and does have a center to initiate movement along all the vessels and channels of this system. It is the origin of impulses for social processes; it is the place where information about the entire society's life and work is concentrated and summed up. It is the center—not a detached one but one linked to the periphery by thousands of strands—that is capable of determining the program and direction of all development.

[Aladinskiy] In your view, what are the most important and fundamental differences to be noted in the creation and activity of the supreme organs of power?

[Topornin] Summing up the measures envisaged by restructuring, the purpose of the reconstruction of the supreme organs of state power is to solve three main tasks. First, to assist the democratization of social life and the further development of Lenin's ideas about the increasingly broad, active, and decisive participation of the working masses in running the affairs of state and society. Second, to ensure the fullest and most accurate expression of interests existing within society—class, group, national, age, sex, professional, and other interests—as well as their consideration, coordination, and expression in state policy. Third, to make the mechanisms and procedures for making and executing decisions at the top state level more efficient and more "operational."

In the first place, the changes being introduced in the system of supreme organs of state power involve the creation of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. This organ will occupy the supreme position in the Soviet state.

According to Article 108 of the new edition of the USSR Constitution, the supreme organ of USSR state power is the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, empowered to adopt for its examination and to decide any question within the jurisdiction of the USSR. The standing of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is also reflected by the fact that decisions on the most important questions of our state life fall within its exclusive jurisdiction (and this means that no other organ, not even the USSR Supreme Soviet, is empowered to deal with the aforementioned questions). Suffice it to say that only the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is empowered to adopt or amend the USSR Constitution. The congress is empowered to lay down the basic guidelines of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy. It elects the USSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and his first deputy chairman, and the Constitutional Oversight Committee, it appoints the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and so on.

The Congress of People's Deputies comprises 2,250 deputies, which enables it to represent sufficiently broadly and fully all classes and strata of Soviet society, all nations and ethnic groups in the country, and all shades of public opinion. On this basis, its role will grow as the supreme nationwide forum, as the guarantor of the implementation of demands for democratization throughout the system of soviets.

[Aladinskiy] Could it be said that we are witnessing a certain return to the system of state organs which was envisaged by constitutional legislation while V.I. Lenin was still alive?

[Topornin] To a certain extent, yes! Right until 1936, joint decisions were elaborated and the joint will was determined primarily at congresses of soviets. The system of congresses made it possible to overcome the negative features of bourgeois parliamentarianism and primarily the detachment of power from the people. Following the adoption of the 1936 Constitution, the congresses were abolished and the USSR Supreme Soviet became the country's supreme organ; and, in the conditions of the personality cult and the years of stagnation, it was largely an embodiment of so-called "bogus democracy" and an appendage of the bureaucratic edict system.

But the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is not just a simple reproduction of existing models. This is proved in particular by a comparison of the procedure for its formation, of its powers and forms of work. Let us note in particular that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is constituted in a different fashion from the USSR Congress of Soviets. There will be 1,500 deputies elected from territorial and national-territorial okrugs. Direct representation from public organizations, which will send 750 people's deputies to the congress, is an important innovation.

[Aladinskiy] This innovation has provoked intense debate, during which many people have expressed doubts about its democratic nature.

[Topornin] Yet every public organization—of course, in conditions of its renewal in the course of restructuring—is called on to uphold and express the interests of people united within it.

We had a somewhat simplistic idea about the unity of society and at times reduced to uniformity the diversity of interests existing within it. Now, however, representation along territorial and national-territorial lines will be supplemented by the representation of "related" group interests, notably on lines of vocation, age, and sex, which was often overlooked in our country in the past.

But the main and perhaps primary cause of objections to direct representation of public organizations at the congress was the fear that this would pave a way to the supreme nationwide forum primarily for officials from the apparatus of public organizations, the "public" bureaucracy, as it were. I think that the main guarantee against this evil can be provided by the democratic atmosphere within public organizations themselves—this is also one of the aims of restructuring.

Incidentally, the representation norms originally laid down in the draft law gave rise to heated arguments. It was sensibly pointed out that a public organization's status and its relative weight could change. This is why the provision finally adopted laid down that the country's Fundamental Law should state only the total number of deputies to be elected from all-union public organizations.

[Aladinskiy] Could you tell us in more detail how the congress will do its work? What will be done by the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Topornin] The USSR Congress of People's Deputies will be elected once every 5 years. Its numerical composition and its powers predetermine the following forms of activity: The congress will convene its sessions, as a rule, once a year. It will be unable to tackle routine legislative, executive, or supervisory work. But the performance of these very functions is, in a representative system, vitally necessary to ensure real democracy. Otherwise the apparat will again gain supremacy over the soviets. This is precisely why the new edition of the USSR Constitution provides not only for the retention of the USSR Supreme Soviet but also for its transformation into a permanently functioning institution.

Provision has been made for the USSR Supreme Soviet to convene in two regular sessions every year—a spring session and a fall session each lasting 3-4 months. This continuity of session's work assumes that deputies will, on the one hand, tackle a wider range of issues and, on the other, work on them much more thoroughly. In the first place, deputies will at long last be able to properly tackle the preparation of draft laws, give more time to checking the implementation of laws by management organs, and meet voters more frequently.

[Aladinskiy] Hitherto, the situation prevailing in our country was virtually such that the two chambers—the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union—hardly differed from one another in their activity. What will happen now?

[Topornin] The bicameral structure will be retained, but the functions of the chambers and the content and forms of their activity will undergo substantial change. The basic objective of the changes is to end the functional anonymity of the chambers, galvanize their work, and make it more purposeful and efficient. In this process they will retain equal rights: Neither of them will be given a higher status. The chambers will also continue to have equal numbers.

It is well known that, in the past, the USSR Central Executive Committee's Soviet of Nationalities did much useful work on questions concerning interethnic relations. But this most valuable experience of the past was wasted largely because of the total duplication of the chambers' work. Even the Soviet of Nationalities Economic Commission, which was set up in the late fifties, was abolished in the sixties. Today it is simply necessary to "profile" the chambers. The Soviet of the Union will examine primarily questions of socioeconomic development and state building concerning the country as a whole; the rights, freedoms, and obligations of USSR citizens; foreign policy; the USSR's defense and state security.

The Soviet of Nationalities will primarily examine questions of ensuring national equality and the interests of nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups in combination with the common interests and needs of the Soviet multinational state; and improving USSR legislation which regulates ethnic and interethnic relations. It is an important factor that each chamber will adopt resolutions on questions within its jurisdiction. Whenever necessary, a resolution adopted by one of the chambers will be sent on to the other chamber and, once approved by it, will gain the force of a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

Let me mention in particular that, compared with the initial draft, the numerical strength of the chambers has increased. Following suggestions originating in a number of union republics, each one of them will elect 11 rather than 7 deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities. At the same time, the original representation of autonomous republics by 4 deputies, of autonomous oblasts by 2 deputies, and of autonomous okrugs by 1 deputy each, has been retained. It must be said that, during the discussion of the draft laws, voices were heard advocating that the Soviet of Nationalities be turned into an organ representing only the union republics. But this would be incorrect since every autonomous state formation has faced and will continue to face problems which can be solved only at all-union level. Let us also note that several autonomous republics are larger than some union republics in terms of both population numbers and economic potential.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will remain an organic component of the mechanism of supreme power, but its functions will undergo changes, especially in view of the USSR Supreme Soviet's transformation into a permanently functioning organ. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will operate under the leadership of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The presidium will consist of the first deputy chairman; 15 deputy chairmen being the chairmen of union republic supreme soviets; the chairmen of the Supreme Soviet chambers, permanent commissions, and committees; and the chairman of the Committee for People's Control. The presidium will retain the power to convene sessions and prepare for them, to coordinate the work of commissions and assist Supreme Soviet deputies, to monitor the observance of the USSR Constitution, and to ensure that union republic constitutions and laws conform with the USSR Constitution and the USSR laws, and a number of other functions.

[Aladinskiy] The 19th party conference directive regarding the periodical renewal of the USSR Supreme Soviet's composition was a new development in the theory and practice of state building in the USSR. What changes have been implemented in this direction?

[Topornin] It is well known that hitherto the elections of deputies to the supreme organ of power were a simultaneous act: The entire composition of the Supreme Soviet was renewed once every 5 years. Byelections took place only in the event of a deputy's mandate becoming vacant and were "unscheduled." As a matter of fact, under the former system of supreme organs, this was probably the most sensible option because it would have been difficult to hold elections to the Supreme Soviet more frequently than once every 5 years.

The situation will be substantially changed with the creation of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. It will become possible to regularly renew the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet at scheduled congresses. Henceforth, the congress will annually change one-fifth of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. On the one hand, this will make it possible to ensure a steady inflow of fresh energy into the USSR Supreme Soviet and, on the other, it will prevent any disruption of continuity in its work.

The electoral system—in the way it is now enshrined in the amendments and additions to the Constitution—encourages maximum political activeness by citizens. This means primarily socialist competitiveness during elections and the nomination of more candidates than there are seats in a deputy's okrug. Voters will play a more active part in the election process, and the role of electoral commissions has been seriously enhanced. The new Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies will become an effective instrument for the formation of the supreme organs of power.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the new laws which were elaborated and adopted are now in force. Arguments and debates are a matter of the past. Our common task is to fully and consistently reveal and utilize the entire democratic potential of renewal. This is what I perceive as the most important precondition for the success of restructuring.

Opening Arguments Heard in Churbanov Trial

LD1212142988 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The speech of the public prosecutor, assistant procurator general of the USSR, Aleksandr Sboyev, opened pleadings today at the trial of several former leaders of Soviet internal affairs organs.

The open hearings, which began at the Supreme Court of the USSR on September 5 of this year, studied 110 volumes of the criminal case, questioned more than 200 witnesses, examined almost one thousand violations of the law by nine defendants. The hearings lasted almost three months. As earlier reported, seven defendants pleaded partially guilty of having received bribes. As to the former first deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, Yuriy Churbanov, he denied having received any bribes at all, but pleaded guilty to charges of abusing his office. Only Petr Begelman, former deputy minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan, pleaded guilty to all charges proffered against him.

The public prosecutor called the court's attention to the fact that the defendants' testimonies were inconsistent and contradictory. In his opinion, this was due to a desire to complicate the court hearings, to slur the investigating agencies, and, in the final count, to dodge responsibility.

Cyclone Reported Off Kamchatka in Okhotsk Sea

LD1012031988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0001 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Weather report by Mikhail Aleksandrovich Masterskikh, senior scientific worker of the USSR Hydrometeorological Center.]

[Excerpt] Last November an unprecedented hurricane hit Sakhalin. Vast material damage was done to the island's national economy. Now a new cyclone has blown up in the Okhotsk Sea. This time, the main blow was delivered to Kamchatka. The weather forecasters in Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka told us that from 6-8 December, 120 mm of rain fell in the town. Power poles came down under the weight of wet snow, (?scientific) buildings were damaged, and transportation was at a standstill. On 10 December, weather conditions remain complex there as well as on Sakhalin, the Kurilles, in Khabarovsk Kray, and in the area south of Magadan Oblast. [passage omitted]

Economic

Council of Ministers Import-Export Decision

LD0812233888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has made a decision on the further development of the foreign economic activity of state, cooperative and other public enterprises, associations, and organizations.

From 1 April of next year onward the right to directly carry out export and import operations is being granted to all enterprises, associations, production cooperatives and other organizations, whose production, work and services are competitive on the foreign market.

The export and import operations are being carried out on the basis of currency self-recouping. The results constitute an organic part of the results of economic activity and influence the formation of economic incentive funds and currency funds.

Voronin Addresses Conference on Wholesale Trade

PM0712145388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 1

[Ye. Leontyeva report: "The Way Wholesale Trade Should Be"]

[Text] An all-union scientific and practical conference entitled "Problems of Improving the Economic Mechanism of Wholesale Trade in Means of Production" was held in Moscow from 30 November to 2 December.

This is the first time that such a conference has been held in our country. That fact, as well as the importance of the problem, meant there was sure to be great interest in it. Some 2,500 scientific workers, representatives of central economic departments, ministries, USSR Gossnab territorial organs, enterprises and organizations, and workers of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers took part.

The purpose of the conference was to discuss the first results of the development of wholesale trade in our country and to produce recommendations on the further restructuring of material and technical supply during the formation of a market in the means of production. The keynote report at the plenary session was delivered by L. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab.

The volume of wholesale trade is now R40 billion. In 1989 it is due to rise to R115 billion, and in 1990 to R200 billion. The transfer of all production and technical output (apart from supplies under state orders) to free sale [besfondovaya realizatsiya] is not due to happen until 1991.

In this connection a system is being created to provide enterprises with commercial information on market conditions. Trade fairs are being held where deals are struck on the supply of output. Consultancy cooperatives (providing commercial information) and production cooperatives (for the use of secondary resources) are being set up under the USSR Gossnab's territorial organs. The network of wholesale trade stores is being expanded considerably: from 700 in 1987 to 3,500 in 1990. Predelivery services are being developed and the hiring of instruments, machines, equipment, and construction and road machinery is to be increased.

Beginning next year the USSR Gossnab's territorial organs are switching to full economic accountability and self-financing. The aim is that this will accelerate the pace of development of wholesale trade, which currently disappoints many people.

L. Abalkin and A. Aganbegyan, academicians; A. Yemelyanov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and other participants in the conference delivered reports providing a justification of the concepts of the formation of the socialist market in the means of production and the economic mechanism of wholesale trade.

Economic Adviser on Reforms, Deficit

PM0912110988 Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with Soviet economic adviser Nikolay Shmelev by correspondent Pierre Bocev: "Restructuring Is a Dangerous Reform: Nikolay Shmelev, Economic Adviser to Gorbachev, Explains to LE FIGARO the Problems Which the Soviet Leader Is Encountering"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Bocev] Restructuring is marking time. Why have concrete results been slow in coming?

[Shmelev] There have been improvements, in housing construction, for example. But as for consumers and markets, there you are right; things are not improving. Restructuring is a very dangerous reform. It threatens to create social tensions. In my opinion its most important stage, price reform, should even be postponed. People are afraid of it, and before we tackle it we should first fill the market with consumer goods.

A Question of Patience

To achieve that the cooperatives, family-run enterprises, and private firms need greater freedom. At the same time we need to import many more consumer goods, not just equipment for heavy industry. To achieve this, I think that in a transitional period of at least 5 years we will need more Western credits. Between $4 billion-$5 billion should not present us with any problems.

Above all, we mustn't rush things. Food prices, rents, transport, all those prices have been kept artificially very low, while for current consumer goods, ranging from shirts to cars, prices are artificially high. It is this gap which we must first of all reduce; we must make the correlation of prices more realistic.

[Bocev] How long is the population supposed to go on waiting for concrete results?

[Shmelev] I do not know. No one knows. It is a question of patience, and judging from our history, our people have plenty of patience. I do not think there will be a clash, not if we manage to avoid errors in social policy. Our main problem at the moment is with social conflicts. In the Caucasus there have even been killings.

[Bocev] Doesn't the USSR need a convertible ruble if it is to participate fully in the modern economic world?

[Shmelev] All that is initially possible is a partially convertible ruble. This should be possible for enterprises in the first half of the nineties. A convertible ruble available to everyone, to the man in the street, is a much longer-term goal.

But even this first stage is dependent on two conditions. Enterprises must have the power to buy and sell freely, which they do not have under the present system. And there must be a single exchange rate for the ruble instead of the many thousands of arbitrary rates existing now, product by product and enterprise by enterprise.

[Bocev] The budget deficit, which the minister of finance has admitted for the first time, clearly doesn't help.

[Shmelev] The figure of R34 billion (F350 billion) that he quoted is not the real figure. That is the sum that we meet simply by issuing paper money. In reality you have to add another R64 billion which we take indirectly from the people's savings. All in all, our budget deficit is verging on R100 billion.

"The Market Is Always Right"

[Bocev] Has the shortfall resulting from the antialcohol restrictions had much to do with this?

[Shmelev] It accounts for R12-15 billion a year. Everyone agrees on the aims of this campaign because alcoholism is a real problem for us. But it was a mistake to attack it by purely administrative methods without taking economic imperatives into account.

Basically, the state is currently losing a perfectly legitimate form of revenue which is going into the pockets of illegal distillers.

[Bocev] How much progress have you made with the plans for fiscal reform?

[Shmelev] Our fiscal system is underdeveloped. There is a single rate of personal income tax at the moment: a maximum of 13 percent. We need a progressive form of taxation which encourages people to work more. It is imperative that we stimulate production and create the conditions for competition. The market is always right; it will decide. We are studying the fiscal systems of the leading Western countries but we have not yet made our choice.

[Bocev] What are the prospects for cooperation with the West, "joint ventures," and "special economic zones"?

[Shmelev] This is a very positive development. But I do not think that such an influx of foreign capital can be a normal occurrence. It is certainly a considerable advantage but it cannot be normal, especially while the ruble is not convertible. I am in favor of all experiments and the introduction of common sense in small doses, but in the present situation I am skeptical.

Impact of Economic Accountability Assessed

PM1112150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Yu. Rytov article: "Understanding Economic Accountability"]

[Text] According to figures provided by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, this year 19,000 industrial associations and enterprises employing 18.4 million people, or 55 percent of the total number of workers, are operating on the basis of full economic accountability and self-financing.

What does the experience they have accumulated show? It is extremely important to answer this question now, before the new stage of radical economic reform. After all, as of next year enterprises in all production sectors will switch to the new working conditions.

The general conclusion is clear: Matters here are considerably better than in industry as a whole—all the economic results are higher. Unfortunately, the statistical reports analyze the performance of economically accountable enterprises only during the first half of the year. Nevertheless, the situation is clear enough in general outline and, judging by numerous examples, these trends can be boldly extrapolated for the next period.

So what do the statistics show? Economically accountable industrial enterprises increased their output volume by 4.7 percent in the first half of this year compared with the same period last year. Enterprises working under the old conditions of economic management increased their output by 4.5 percent. Growth in labor productivity was 6.4 and 4.2 percent respectively. Fulfillment of the profit plan was 108.7 and 106.1 percent respectively. The fact that the targets for this indicator were exceeded has had a positive impact on the state of payment discipline. Overdue debts on short-term bank loans and mutual settlements between economic organs were lower on 1 July 1988 in all ministries working in the new conditions—with the exception of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building—than on the same date last year.

It goes without saying that we should not pat ourselves on the back because of these general indicators. At many enterprises which have transferred to self-financing and economic accountability, the situation is certainly not as good as it looks "on average." For example, one in five enterprises failed to meet profit targets and the aggregate profit obtained by them was just over R1 billion less than planned. And 16 percent of enterprises failed to honor their contractual obligations to consumers. The proportion of such enterprises was even greater than in industry as a whole (14 percent).

Thus economic accountability is certainly not a panacea for all ills. It is a method of economic management that presupposes new approaches to work and a new level of responsibility, independence, and initiative.

However, it is precisely independence and initiative that are still lacking in many collectives. We remember the storm of protest among production workers at the end of last year prompted by the 100 percent assignment of state orders. Next year the proportion of these orders in enterprises' production programs will fall sharply. (In the machine-building complex it will be only 25 percent, in the fuel and energy complex 59.4 percent, in the metallurgical complex 42 percent, in the chemical and timber complex 34 percent, and in the USSR Ministry of Light Industry 30 percent.) And now what? Some economic leaders are still dissatisfied. They have not been able to independently conclude contracts with either suppliers or consumers. And now they are persistently demanding: Give us a state order! Then all their problems, as before, will be solved by higher organs....

Petitions of this kind certainly do not accord with the nature of the new stage of reform. After all, the number of centrally allocated resources is going to be cut from 5,100 items this year to 546 next year, or by more than 9 times. The volume of wholesale trade will rise to R115 billion (in 1988 it was only R40 billion). This means that the material balance of the national economy must now be ensured to a significant degree by the efforts of the production collectives themselves. They not only have to make broad use of the potential of wholesale trade but also do their utmost to develop direct, mutually advantageous contacts with clients and suppliers.

The new stage of radical economic reform also prompts production collectives to act independently in many other areas. In the coming year the proportion of profit remaining at their disposal will reach 51 percent, against 43 percent before the transition to the new working conditions. And the total amount of resources they will have at their disposal will be in excess of R200 billion. These resources must also be skilfully employed. The retooling of production and the more rapid solution of social and consumer problems are two of the main directions in which they could be used....

You may ask: But do all enterprises really have their own solid financial base? No, far from all of them do, of course. Some 24,000 enterprises in various sectors are currently operating at a loss and the total amount of these losses has reached R11 billion. Clearly, enterprises such as these cannot exist on a self-financing basis. So what is to become of them? This question is now being set on a strictly practical footing and the situation in every loss-making collective is being studied in detail. This study will suggest ways to solve the problem once and for all: The conversion of the enterprise, its transfer to a lease contract, and even, as an extreme measure, its total liquidation....

However, ways to increase profitability cannot now fail to concern all other production collectives. After all, their well-being is directly dependent on this: People's wages, their working conditions, and the whole social infrastructure. We can confidently say that everywhere there are possibilities for increasing both profit and profitability. This is because you simply cannot fail to see one characteristic detail of present-day production life: We have learned to calculate our income but, on the other hand, we are very bad at calculating our expenditure.

According to official statistics, unproductive expenditure and losses annually exceed R24 billion. More than R9 billion are frozen in above-normative unfinished construction projects alone. And above-normative stocks of equipment waiting to be installed have reached R5 billion. Surely it is here—in the strengthening of order, organization, and the policy of thrift—that we should seek a reliable way to reduce material and labor expenditure and therefore increase income?

This means that in the coming year our economy will be characterized by fundamentally new features. It will place production collectives in new working conditions and dictate new demands to them. Is everyone ready for this? I think not. Both because of objective factors: the poor technical and technological standard with which they are entering the new stage of reform. And because of subjective factors: people's sluggishness and shortsightedness. There is no doubt that many collectives are going to find it difficult. But we cannot drag out the reform. It has long been a well known fact that to learn to swim you have to get into the water.

Scientific

Joint Soviet-French 'Mir' Flight Continues

Crew Performs Experiments

LD1212122188 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—The international crew of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Jean-Loup Chretien continue joint research and experiments in near-earth orbit. In the last two days the cosmonauts conducted final operations to cap the work linked with the venture outside the station. Under the programme of medical research, Jean-Loup Chretien underwent a regular echographic examination.

On Sunday, they conducted several sessions of the observation of the supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud with the aid of the "Roentgen" observatory.

Today, the Soviet-French crew performs a series of experiments named "Amadeus", whose goal is to study the process when the model of the power structure of the solar battery unfolds in zero-gravity conditions, and evaluate the quality of the ball-and-socket joint of the new design which features lesser friction.

According to telemetry and reports from orbit, the flight of the manned complex Mir proceeds normally.

The cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

TV Shows 'Amadeus' Model

LD1312093888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The flight of the Soviet-French space crew continues. [video shows astronauts aboard the "Mir"]

[First cosmonaut] Today the French are for the first time carrying out in space an experiment in unfolding a mechanism used in spacecraft for unfolding the solar panels. You know that the solar panel is the main power source aboard any spacecraft. You have before you a model of such an assembly for unfolding a solar panel. It is called Amadeus.

What is interesting about this experiment? Take a look at these joints. This joint is called the (?Carpentier) joint. What is special about it? The special thing is that its friction is very low, and the lower the friction, the less energy is needed to unfold it. These little springs here unfold this powerful structure thanks to this (?Carpentier) joint. We can demonstrate for you now how it works. Go on, Jean-Loup.

Great, isn't it? The solar panel is mounted atop such a structure. Apart from that there is also the complex unfolding configuration. You can now see the complex unfolding. Let's go. There you are. Good, isn't it?

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Scientist Examines Future of Shuttle

LD1212143888 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—Academician Vladimir Struminskiy, a respected Soviet scientist who was interviewed by TASS, described the Buran re-usable spaceship as the most significant achievement of Soviet science and engineering this year. According to this well-known Soviet specialist in the field of mechanics and cryogenic engines, the technical ideas and solutions applied in building the Buran would have a stimulating impact on a variety of scientific and technical areas. Even today they form the basis of advanced development projects in engineering.

At the same time, the scientist is of the opinion that ferrying cargoes into orbit and retrieving them to earth by spaceships of the Buran and shuttle type is less cost-efficient than by traditional spacecraft. Nevertheless, Struminskiy is convinced that the future in cosmonautics belongs to re-usable systems. "We should develop space vehicles of the aircraft type, which differ fundamentally from the shuttle and Buran systems that have a vertical launch. For air-and-space craft cost two to five times less than present shuttles," he says.

"It is exactly air-and-space craft, which will be a modification of a hypersonic passenger plane now under development in the USSR and in other countries, that can open a more reliable and cost-efficient way to space. If this craft is propelled by an engine fired by hydrogen, then success is ensured," Struminskiy noted. He also recaled that the prototypes of engines for such air-and-space craft were tested in the TU-155 airliner in the USSR last April.

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Joint Space Experiment With U.S. Planned

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[Text] Leningrad December 12 TASS—Soviet and American scientists plan a joint space experiment to study the earth's ozone layer in 1990.

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Space research will be accompanied by aircraft sounding of the ozone layer from below, Kondratyev said.

Information will be processed in Soviet and U.S. national research centres. This is envisaged in the Soviet-U.S. agreement on co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes signed in Moscow in April 1987.

Velikhov on Post-Chernobyl Nuclear Policy

OW0912150488 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1038 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the "News Today" program; interview with Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, by NHK newscaster Hirano, at the NHK studio on 9 December—recorded; interview conducted in English with Japanese subtitles]

[Text] Two years and 8 months have passed since the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in the Soviet Union. According to the announcement made by the Soviet Government, a total of 31 persons were killed and 203 other victims were hospitalized. Reportedly, the accident was caused by an unauthorized experiment conducted by staff members. It was Dr Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who took full command of handling the aftermath of the accident. Dr Velikhov and other personnel evacuated the residents living in the neighborhood of the power station and tried to prevent the increase of radioactivity by pouring concrete into the exploded nuclear reactor. At present, the investigation into radioactive pollution is still under way in the neighborhood of Cherynobyl.

Dr Velikhov is currently visiting Japan. We invited him to the "News Today" studio and interviewed him on such topics as the changes in Soviet nuclear policy since the Cherynobyl accident.

[Video shows Velikhov sitting at a table facing newscaster Hirano]

[Begin recording] [Hirano] What is the present status of that nuclear power station there?

[Velikhov] We finished the cleaning work on the station, and today the three blocks are working and producing electricity and the fourth block is encapsulated in confinement, and expedition of our institute continues to work inside this block. It is much cleaner, quite clean and safe inside this block. And we studied all the details of this accident. I just returned 1 month ago from the fourth block. In a 30-km zone we have no people live, almost no. In some regions which is quite clean, it is possible to return for people, but generally is no people.

[Hirano] Well, I wonder if you could be a little bit more specific about the impact which the accident gave to the leadership and the government concerning the nuclear policy?

[Velikhov] After Chernobyl, we changed this responsibility to the special body of the Ministry of Nuclear Power. We changed everything from management, operations, and education, and this is one of the very important lessons from Cherynobyl.

[Hirano] We understand that you have decided not to install the same type of nuclear plant in the future...

[Velikhov, interrupting] Yes. Yes.

[Hirano] ...That's a RBMK.

[Velikhov] Yes. We stopped the production and building new RBMK reactors. Yes. We need nuclear energy for our production of electricity. We put into consideration everything—natural gas, oil, coal, energy efficiency, energy conservation—but if we calculate everything, we need nuclear. In such case, we have a big discussion how to proceed with nuclear in a safe way. In some way, before the Chernobyl it was some euphoria in the circle of people who are in charge of energy production, and in the population. And many local authorities asked the government to build more nuclear stations then. And it was, I think, too fast movement. And Chernobyl was one result of this. Today, we have slowdown that cost us maybe 5 years' slowdown in nuclear energy, but our goal is the same. In future sight, of course, we need to take into consideration much more closely all the problems—seismicity, seimic situation, the problems of location in the population center, underground water condition—all together with economics, and make much more discussion, especially with the local population.

[Hirano] Well, recently a very strong earthquake took place in some parts of your country in the Republic of Armenia. Do you think that kind of earthquake might destroy the power plant, the nuclear power plant located in that area?

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In fact, there is also a nuclear power station in Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian Republic, where an earthquake of 6.9 magnitude took place the day before yesterday. As for this earthquake, Moscow radio reported on 8 December that Foreign Minister Shevardnaze stated in his news conference held in New York that there was no damage to the nuclear power station.

IAEA Experts Inspect Ukrainian Rovno AES

PM1212152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent N. Baklanov report: "AES Safety Test"]

[Text] A group of IAEA experts on questions of operational safety (from OSART) has arrived at the Rovno AES.

According to reports in Ukrainian republic newspapers, in line with their program the group will be studying the organization of cadre management and training and the

Today, the Soviet-French crew performs a series of experiments named "Amadeus", whose goal is to study the process when the model of the power structure of the solar battery unfolds in zero-gravity conditions, and evaluate the quality of the ball-and-socket joint of the new design which features lesser friction.

According to telemetry and reports from orbit, the flight of the manned complex Mir proceeds normally.

The cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

TV Shows 'Amadeus' Model

LD1312093888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The flight of the Soviet-French space crew continues. [video shows astronauts aboard the "Mir"]

[First cosmonaut] Today the French are for the first time carrying out in space an experiment in unfolding a mechanism used in spacecraft for unfolding the solar panels. You know that the solar panel is the main power source aboard any spacecraft. You have before you a model of such an assembly for unfolding a solar panel. It is called Amadeus.

What is interesting about this experiment? Take a look at these joints. This joint is called the (?Carpentier) joint. What is special about it? The special thing is that its friction is very low, and the lower the friction, the less energy is needed to unfold it. These little springs here unfold this powerful structure thanks to this (?Carpentier) joint. We can demonstrate for you now how it works. Go on, Jean-Loup.

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PM1212152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent N. Baklanov report: "AES Safety Test"]

[Text] A group of IAEA experts on questions of operational safety (from OSART) has arrived at the Rovno AES.

According to reports in Ukrainian republic newspapers, in line with their program the group will be studying the organization of cadre management and training and the power plant's operational indicators, and will be checking the correctness of the methods it is planned to employ there to prevent and eliminate anomalies, including accidents.

The OSART group, which is carrying out similar missions to nuclear power plants in other countries, has come to the Rovno AES at the Soviet side's invitation.

'Ekran' TV Satellite Launched 10 Dec

LD1212173088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Our country launched another "Ekran" television broadcasting satellite with onboard transmitting apparatus on 10 December. The satellite's apparatus provides for a (?30)-meter wave range for capable central television receivers.

Cybernetics Expert A.P. Yershov Dies 8 Dec

PM1212143588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Obituary: "Academician Andrey Petrovich Yershov"]

[Excerpts] Soviet science has sustained a great loss. On 8 December 1988 Academician A.P. Yershov, a leading Soviet scientist and specialist in the sphere of information technology, programming, and mathematics, died after a serious and prolonged illness.

A.P. Yershov was born 19 April 1931 in a family of white-collar workers. [passage omitted] From 1959 A.P. Yershov worked at the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. And from April 1987 A.P. Yershov chaired the "Cybernetics" Multiproblem Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [passage omitted]

Signed: G.I. Marchuk, Ye.P. Velikhov, V.I. Ilichev, V.A. Koptyug, V.N. Kudryavtsev, N.P. Laverov, A.A. Logunov, G.A. Mesyats, O.M. Nefedov, Yu.A. Osipyan, R.V. Petrov, K.V. Frolov, I.M. Makarov, K.A. Valiyev, A.A. Dorodnitsyn, V.A. Melnikov, A.A. Samarskiy, A.N. Tikhonov, Yu.I. Zhuravlev, V.P. Ivannikov, L.N. Korolev, A.L. Mikazlyan, Yu.S. Vishnyakov, I.I. Gukasov, A.V. Kortnev, G.I. Savin

Military

Lushev at Meeting Marking Tribunals Jubilee

PM1212124988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 8 First Edition p 2

[Report by Colonel of Justice S. Morozov: "Military Tribunals 70th Anniversary"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting has been held to mark the 70th anniversary of the USSR Armed Forces military tribunals. It was opened by USSR Justice Minister B. Kravtsov.

A report was delivered to the assembly by Major General of Justice A. Muranov. He noted that the work underway to form a rule-of-law state is paying special attention to enhancing the role and authority of the court in the system of democratic socialism. Military tribunals and the forms and methods of work constitutive of them are required, he stressed, to help increase the combat readiness and fighting efficiency of units and ships and tighten military discipline.

The ceremonial meeting was attended by A. Pavlov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army Gen D. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel; Admiral of the Fleet A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army Gen F. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the the USSR KGB; leaders of central law-enforcement organs; and others.

Justice Official on Reform of Tribunals

PM0912132188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Major General of Justice A. Muranov, chief of the Military Tribunals Directorate, by unnamed correspondent under the heading "Guarding Legality"; date, place not given—first four paragraphs are editorial "historical background" and introduction]

[Text] Historical Background. Justice organs in our Armed Forces—the revolutionary military tribunals—first came into being in the bitter struggle against counterrevolution during the years of civil war. By the end of 1918 they had been organized on all fronts and in the field forces. The Revolutionary Military Tribunal of the Republic, which began work on 8 December 1918, was instituted to lead their activity. Soviet military court bodies trace their origins back to that day.

At first, the military tribunals operated under the leadership of the relevant revolutionary military councils. However, they were soon incorporated in the unified national court system. This is still the position today and is enshrined in the present USSR Constitution.

The 70-year history of the Soviet military tribunals, which are expected to fight for stronger discipline, law and order, and socialist legality in the Army and Navy, is inseparable from the history of our country, its Armed Forces, and its glorious as well as bitter, tragic moments.

Our correspondent's conversation with Major General of Justice A. Muranov began with a look at this history and an appraisal of its role in the present-day activity of the military tribunals.

[Muranov] First of all I would like to talk about the continuity of military tribunals' work ethics. As in the twenties, we are guided—unlike military justice bodies in some capitalist countries, for example—by the legislation that is the same for all courts in our country.

For military court bodies, the link with history is another feature of their everyday work. After all, military tribunals are still examining cases of crimes committed long ago. For example, the very serious crimes committed against our country in the war years by Nazi butchers and Hitler's stooges. Under the 4 March 1965 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, the statute of limitations does not apply to these persons.

In December 1986, for example, a former Red Army officer, G. Vasyura, was sentenced by a military tribunal in the Belorussian Military District to be shot. He voluntarily went into the service of the fascists and, having become chief of staff of the 118th police battalion, took charge of the encirclement of Katyn and the reprisals against its inhabitants. This year, a similar case was investigated by a military tribunal in the Kiev Military District with regard to A. Posevin, who, in 1942-1943, betrayed his country by leading a Sicherheitsdienst police battalion and by playing a personal role in the numerous executions of Soviet people living in Kharkov.

The other side of the coin is that the military courts are still involved in a great deal of work to rehabilitate Soviet people unlawfully repressed in the thirties, forties, and beginning of the fifties. We are looking at these tragic events, that happened half a century ago, not just to restore to innocent victims their good name—this also needs to be done so as to gain a deeper insight into the causes of the mistakes made in those years.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Ivanovich, the subject of mass repressions does, of course, concern many people. Could you give us a more detailed account of that period and of how military court bodies found themselves drawn into passing unsubstantiated sentences?

[Muranov] In the thirties, court activity was supplanted to a considerable degree by the work of extrajudicial bodies which were responsible for the bulk of the repressions. But in those years even the military tribunals could not avoid serious errors in their work. A contributory factor in this was the sharp curtailment of the system of procedural guarantees (glasnost, adversary procedure [sostyazatelnost], and the guarantee of the right to defense) in the legislative process. A USSR Central Executive Committee resolution of 10 July 1934, "On the Formation of an Union-Wide People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs," decreed that cases involving treason, espionage, terrorism, and acts of sabotage examined by NKVD bodies be placed under the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium and district military tribunals.

The fact that the struggle against "enemies of the people" appeared to be blessed by the party also had an effect. In this kind of situation few people had the courage to stand up to the most flagrant violations of socialist legality sanctioned from the very top. Those military lawyers who tried to take an objective approach to examining cases and assessing the available evidence became the victims of repression themselves. This goes some way to explaining—but, of course, in no way justifies—cases where military tribunals passed unsubstantiated sentences.

[Correspondent] The 19th party conference devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of restructuring law enforcement bodies, and adopted a special resolution. Its obvious intention is to rule out the possibility of the kind of errors made not only during the era of Stalin's personality cult but also later on, in the years of stagnation, and to create reliable guarantees for safeguarding citizens' rights and legal interests and increase glasnost in legal activity. How does this affect the work of military tribunals?

[Muranov] It affects it most directly. The mechanism that offers social-legal protection to military servicemen, like all Soviet citizens, must be fully operational. A whole series of legislative and organizational measures is now being taken on the basis of the conference decisions to enhance the authority of military tribunals. In this work, as I have already said, we are endeavoring to make creative use of past experience.

A great deal of this is not only of historic significance but also—and this is particularly important—consonant with the ideas enshrined in the decisions of the 19th party conference. Judge for yourselves. We want to boost glasnost in judicial activity and above all in public legal proceedings. It turns out that during the civil war, for instance, many military tribunals maintained continual contacts with newspapers and journals and had journalists on their staffs. IZVESTIYA NARKOMVOYEN contained the permanent rubric "At the Military Revolutionary Tribunal." Army newspapers carried regular detailed reports on judicial tribunal sessions. Moreover, the texts of the most topical verdicts were published separately in the form of pamphlets in large print runs.

Military tribunals have recently begun to cooperate more actively with the mass media. Broader use is being made of the opportunities provided by cable television and video equipment. Thus, the Transbaykal Military District has made three videos on trial material involving judges from one garrison's military tribunal. The Baltic Military District Political Directorate, jointly with tribunal lawyers, has made a film at the Riga Movie Studio entitled "Steps Toward the Abyss." It shows ways of preventing nonregulation relations.

[Correspondent] The so-called "hazing" and other manifestations of nonregulation relations are now a particularly topical theme in articles. Everyone is worried by the question of how these disgraceful phenomena can be eradicated. What role do military tribunals play here?

[Muranov] I think that the qualitative examination at public sessions of criminal cases within this category, and active preventive work in connection with them, are the main means of combating nonregulation relations. It was not without reason that V.I. Lenin described such processes as the instrument of "education and discipline." We are directing military tribunal judges to make maximum use of their educative potential.

Courts thoroughly explain the preconditions, reasons, and conditions behind the violation of service regulations governing relations between servicemen. They are indicated in the interlocutory decisions sent to the command. Moreover, they are recorded in the punch cards compiled on each case. The information they contain is periodically generalized and analyzed both at the level of districts, fleets, and groups of forces, and also for the Armed Forces as a whole. Military judges carry out preventive work on this basis in close coordination with the command, political organs, military prosecutors, the legal aktiv, and groups countering nonregulation relations.

There have been changes for the better but the problem is still acute. This means that legal educative work must be intensified. In this respect the organization of compulsory universal juridical instruction as a single comprehensive program encompassing the entire population will be of great benefit.

[Correspondent] What role are you allocating to military tribunal employees in general in the sphere of compulsory universal juridical instruction, and in implementing judicial and legal reform within the country and the Armed Forces? Do violations of the laws occur in their actions?

[Muranov] The USSR Defense Ministry leadership attaches great significance to ensuring the effective functioning of juridical education within the troops. A regulation on compulsory universal juridical instruction, which should determine a system for legal education, is being studied. Commanders and political workers are organizing this job and we are being given the task of offering them methodological assistance.

Without waiting for additional instructions, judges in a number of tribunals in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the Missile Forces are doing a great deal to ensure that this system begins to operate. However this is, unfortunately, by no means happening everywhere. We need not only to teach others but also to learn for ourselves democracy, glasnost, attentiveness, and respect for people. There are still many unresolved problems in the work of the military tribunals. The main one is the fact that the quality of the justice administered still does not fully accord with present-day demands. Judicial errors are allowed to occur in the activity of military tribunals. There are also unfounded convictions. These are isolated occurrences. But we realize that there is a living person behind each one of them, his honor, his dignity, and sometimes his personal freedom.

The task consists in ensuring that the standard of justice is substantially boosted and reliable guarantees created for ensuring the independence of the courts and everyone's equality before the law. All manner of prejudice and prosecution bias must be excluded and the principle of presumption of innocence exercised.

[Correspondent] Military tribunals are not an abstract concept, they are people. Tell us—albeit briefly—about the people who work there.

[Muranov] The restructuring underway in the country and the judicial reform being mounted are making heightened demands on military judges' political maturity, vocational training, and moral outlook. Ultimately the maintenance of a high level of legality in the administration of justice depends on this.

I must be blunt and say that at present not all tribunal officers fully match up with present demands. This is illustrated, in particular, by the mistakes that I have just mentioned. That is why work is being carried out to improve the composition of the judicial body. The USSR Defense Ministry has adopted the decision as of next year to recruit to the officers' group at the Military Institute's military-juridical faculty specially for the training of military judges. Candidates will be selected from among officers graduating from military colleges (in any specialty) up to 27 years of age, and who have served no less than 3 years in the forces.

By and large I can say that most military tribunal judges are characterized by such qualities as modesty, objectivity, self-possession, industry, a responsible attitude toward the job, and a sense of pride in their profession. It cannot be otherwise. For they are elected to their posts by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and are called upon to act in the name of the law.